

**A FACILITATION PEDAGOGY FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS
EDUCATION ON THE INTERNATIONAL BACCALAUREATE**

By

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Abstract

A Facilitation Pedagogy for International Affairs Education on the International Baccalaureate

In this thesis in the philosophy of education, a facilitation pedagogy for International Affairs Education on the International Baccalaureate curriculum is promoted. Facilitative pedagogy is presented and developed as a normative philosophy of education which is rooted in existential phenomenology. It is also explained and developed as an objective and empathetic instrument to be used by teachers and students in their analyses of International Affairs scenarios. Both the existential and the phenomenological are seen as necessary for a comprehensive approach to the 'multiple narratives' which one might find in international affairs analyses on the International Baccalaureate programme. The existential phenomenological approach is also seen as a relevant approach for an understanding of the lives of those who inhabit international affairs scenarios in the modern world. This approach is used and developed because it is an instrument which can enable the delivering of normative judgements on good or bad or right or wrong, just or unjust, or legal and illegal in International Affairs scenarios. Further, this facilitation pedagogy is located in and developed through a number of case studies. The case study approach is underpinned by an existential phenomenological approach in scenarios such as 'Human Rights and Global Citizenship', 'Human Rights understandings on South Africa and China', 'The invasion of Iraq', 'Bias, Propaganda and Indoctrination', and 'The Israeli / Palestinian Question'. One of the central arguments presented is that the IB curriculum would serve the interests and aims of internationalism more effectively if International Affairs were a compulsory subject for all IB Diploma students. The benefits of the contents of this thesis for a new International Baccalaureate curriculum are emphasised. Further, I argue that for international affairs education to be taught effectively on the IB curriculum it has to be taught through an existential phenomenological approach which is located in the case study format.

**A Facilitation Pedagogy for Critical Thinking in International Affairs Education
on the International Baccalaureate**

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Introduction

I have been teaching English Literature and English Language on the International Baccalaureate Programme for many years at an international college in Oxford. Further, I have run International Study trips to Moscow, St Petersburg, Krakow, Auschwitz and Warsaw, Prague and Belfast in Northern Ireland. These trips have been intended to complement the 'Philosophy and International Affairs' classes which I have delivered for the CAS (Creativity, Action and Service) dimension of the International Baccalaureate Programme. I have also for no less than two decades been a resident House Manager of numerous Houses which have accommodated students from all five continents.

If there has been a common theme in my many connections above, it has been my ever growing interest in the theme of internationalism and all that accompanies it (Hayden & Thompson 1998) (Phillips & Pound 2003). The International Baccalaureate Programme is one of the fastest growing programmes in the world. Chapter One is full of detailed information on the Baccalaureate so it is not necessary to expand too much here. It is important however to point out that in May of 2005 that there were approximately 1, 727 IB schools in 122 countries accommodating approximately 200 000 students. The growth rate of the IB schools and the student numbers are considerable and are partly due to the academic rigour and international credibility of the IB Programme. I would personally like to think that parents are choosing the Baccalaureate for their children because many of them recognise the importance of an international education in an age where international understanding and tolerance of others is paramount. This thesis argues that if the International Baccalaureate is to fulfil its internationalist aims, it needs a specific approach to the teaching of International Affairs. It will further be argued that that the teaching of International Affairs ought to be a compulsory element of the IB syllabus.

Summaries of the chapters of the thesis

Chapter One

The Design and some important Aims of the International Baccalaureate Diploma

In this chapter I provide the reader with a brief overview of the structure, design and aims of the International Baccalaureate curriculum. Diagrammatically this includes the IB Hexagon which illustrates the core courses and the six groups of subjects from which all students, with one exception, need to select at least one subject. The compulsory elements of the core courses which include creativity, action and service (CAS), Theory of Knowledge (TOK) and the extended essay receive some attention. A key focus in the chapter is on how the design and structure of the IB are meant to facilitate the realisation of the international and the intellectual aims of the IB curriculum. The idea that the IB curriculum is somewhat flawed because it does not offer a compulsory international affairs programme is fleetingly flagged (Davis 1995) (Hayden & Thompson 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998a, 1998b) (Van Loo & Morley 2004).

Chapter Two

A phenomenological approach to a facilitation pedagogy for international affairs education on the IB

In this chapter I introduce the idea of a phenomenological approach to a facilitation pedagogy for international affairs. While I define and emphasise such an approach for IB learners who need to become more literate in international affairs, I also explain and define the relevance of the 'narrative' and 'multiple narratives' approaches which are connected to and supportive of my phenomenological approach. I emphasise that the phenomenological, the 'narrative' and the 'multiple narratives' approaches provide IB students of international affairs with descriptive understandings (Cobley 2001) (Klooster 2001) (Porter Abbot 2005). I explain that these approaches can do a good job in helping students understand the totality of the 'lived-experiences' of the participants of international affairs scenarios. While I also point out the advantages and limitations of the phenomenological I also highlight that a good IB student

analyser of international affairs scenarios will realise that her own normative judgements can only be made known in the domain of the 'post-phenomenological' once she has completed her phenomenological analyses comprehensively and with integrity. (Husserl 1964) (Kneller 1964) (Morris 1966) (Langeveld 1959) (Levering 2006) (Sartre 1948, 1958) (Spurling 1977)(Vandenberg 1991, 1997) (Van Manen 1997) (Versfeld 1972, 1979).

Chapter Three

An existential approach to a facilitation pedagogy for international affairs education on the IB

As distinct from the descriptive value of the phenomenological approach to facilitation pedagogy, this chapter emphasises an existential approach and why it is important for a facilitation pedagogy for international affairs education on the IB (Bonnet & Cuypers 2003) (Buber 1947) (Kneller 1964) (Morris 1966). (Sartre 1948) (See 10 of IB Learner Profile). A more elaborate development of the existential approach emphasises that it is in the interests of international understanding that students become aware of their existential philosophical differences so that they may become better placed to understand the way the individual values of IB learners can impact on their analyses of international affairs scenarios. The value of existential thinking for international affairs analyses also receives some attention in terms of how concepts such as duty, consequences, freedom, uncertainty, dialogue and communication and choice can enable students to gain a clearer idea of their responsibilities and how they might proceed in analytical situations (Murdoch 1999) (Rogers 1989) (Sartre 1948) (Halabi 2000) (See all aims of IB Learner Profile).

Chapter Four

The relevance of human rights and global citizenship understandings to a facilitation pedagogy for International Affairs education on the IB curriculum

The focus here is on human rights theory on the one hand and global citizenship philosophy on the other (Dower 2002, 2003) (Forsythe 2000) (Held 1995, 2002) (Held & McGrew 2004) (Nussbaum 1997, 2000) (Osler 2000) (Osler & Starkey 2005a, 2005b). All the chapters of the thesis are underpinned by humanistic, dialogic or democratic or ‘inter-subjective’ values but in this chapter the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is promoted as probably one of the most important documents underpinning discussions on international conflicts and peace and reconciliation in the modern world. It is also inextricably connected to the idea of international law. Global citizenship philosophy is presented as a relatively new kind of theory which can help IB teachers and students realize their personal and global responsibilities in an age of economic globalization.

Chapter Five

The facilitation of human rights understandings on South Africa and China

The focus here is on human rights concerns in South Africa during the Apartheid years and China today (Davis 1995) (Forsythe 2000) (Mandela 1986). Initially, the students are encouraged through facilitated approaches to explore the evils of Apartheid and the suffering that the majority experienced during the dark years between 1948 and 1994 (Deegan 1999) (De Klerk 2000) (Dubow 2000) (Giliomee 2003) (Hopkins and Grange 2001) (Mandela 1986, 1993, 1994, 2001). They are also however asked to research and to appreciate the human rights improvements that accompanied Mandela’s coming to power in 1994. The connection between human rights and the empowerment of blacks at every level of society often receives cursory consideration in the enquiries of the students. The relevance of human rights is a reminder to the students how much work faces those who want to rid South Africa of poverty, criminality and other social injustices which are in many ways connected to the legacy of Apartheid. Human rights violations in China also receive attention but so does the international acceptance of China as the world’s fastest growing economy

(Davis 1995) (Doyle and Russell 2005a & 2005b) (McCarthy 2005). The difficulties facing a teacher when she attempts to deal with China as an International Affairs issue are confronted.

Chapter Six

A facilitated philosophical project for critical thinking on the invasion of Iraq

The war in Iraq is the International Affairs scenario which receives attention here. I argue that there is no need for any facilitator to be handicapped by her own personal arguments on whether it was right or wrong or good or bad or just or unjust or legal or illegal for the Bush / Blair Coalition to invade Iraq. I say handicapped because the war in Iraq is not a scenario which too many people feel indifferent towards or neutral about. A teacher has to keep her cool in such a scenario and to get the students to explore the philosophical rationales of the 'multiple narratives' that underpin the various positions on the War on Iraq. By employing the 'multiple narratives' approach the teacher facilitator indicates that she is not only able to get the students to explore the arguments of the opposing sides but that she is also interested in the meticulous attention to detail, the philosophical integrity and the comprehensiveness of the arguments that such a task in facilitation requires. The relevance of cosmopolitanism and the capabilities approaches are also developed in the interests of a deeper understanding of international justice and the liberation of women (Nussbaum 2000) (Held & McGrew 2004). My existential phenomenological approach is also developed in favour of a focus on philosophical and therefore political differences between the mainly multi-lateral Noam Chomsky and the neoconservative or less multi-lateral and maybe unilateral position of Robert Kagan (Chomsky 2000b) (Kagan 2003).

Chapter Seven

A facilitation pedagogy for the minimising of bias, propaganda and indoctrination for International Affairs education on the International Baccalaureate curriculum

In a sense this entire thesis is about the minimisation of bias and prejudice in International Affairs explorations and analyses on the International Baccalaureate Programme. Throughout the development of the philosophical arguments and the case study scenarios I have attempted to develop the idea that one might succeed at this enterprise of minimising bias by proceeding through an analytical approach which values the existential, the phenomenological and the 'narrative' and the 'multiple narratives' approaches. Needless to say these approaches help IB students engage more meaningfully with human rights, global citizenship, the capabilities approach and other intellectual concerns (Arthur and Wright 2003) (Crick 2000) (Russell 1926, 1932, 1997) (Younge 2006). I confirm that there is good chance that students engaged in International Affairs discussions will have their biased thinking reined in by the human rights considerations which are connected to the existential phenomenological approach (See Sections 1, 2 & 3 of Appendix One).

Chapter Eight

An argument in favour of a compulsory international affairs course on the International Baccalaureate

In this final chapter, I deliver my final argument of the thesis which affirms quite strongly that the IB Diploma programme needs to offer all its students a compulsory programme in international affairs if it wants to succeed in realising the international and the intellectual aims of the IB. This argument is alluded to throughout the thesis but more assertively than ever I insist that if IB students obtain the IB Diploma without having a comprehensive understanding of international affairs, the IB curriculum will in my estimation continue to be flawed. I also argue that both the international and the intellectual aims of the IB can only be realised if international affairs is taught through my facilitation pedagogy which is based on my existential phenomenological approach which is connected to the international and intellectual

aims in the IB Learner Profile. Further, I also repeat a point made in Chapter One which affirms that the content of numerous other IB documents including the IB Mission Statement and the TOK, CAS and numerous subject specific course guides all point to the importance of students doing 'ethics and politics' at local, regional, national and international levels on the IB curriculum. A further justification for the IB offering a compulsory international affairs programme resides in the fact that one cannot really be an internationalist if one does not have an understanding of internationalism in the international affairs sense of the word. In the interests of further supporting the idea of a compulsory international affairs course on the IB I quote a reference from the newly developed Cambridge Pre-University Programme which has taken great pride in providing Global Perspectives as a compulsory core course. While I recognise that there is much to commend this course I assert that some of its topics would be more appropriately covered in the TOK programme on the IB course. Further to this, I provide the reader with examples of the kind of topics which should be covered in my proposed compulsory international affairs programme on the IB curriculum. The value of the case study approach to an existential phenomenological approach to a facilitation pedagogy for international affairs also receives attention (Denton 1974) (Kneller) (Levering 2006) (Morris 1966) (Vandenberg 1997).

Chapter One

The Design and some important Aims of the International Baccalaureate Diploma

Introduction

The International Baccalaureate Diploma is a two year Diploma which is managed, controlled and accredited by the International Baccalaureate Organization (IBO) which was established in Geneva as a non-profit international foundation in 1968. The Diploma programme is the most advanced programme of three programmes and it caters for students mainly in the 16+ age group. The 'Early Years' and the 'Middle Years' programmes cater for pupils approximately between ages 6 and 11 and 12 and 15 respectively. The Diploma programme which is mainly intended for students who want to attend university has increasingly become better known among the most prestigious universities in the world. Many outstanding holders of the IB Diploma have managed to secure places at institutions which include reputations such as Oxford, Cambridge, Harvard, Princeton, Yale and many other reputable universities throughout the world. However, it is only fair and realistic to admit that these very gifted and exceptional students of the International Baccalaureate constitute a minority.

One needs to recognise at the outset that the IBO does not control or manage any schools but works collaboratively with thousands of schools throughout the world. Further, the IBO is the organisation that both prospective and fully accredited IB schools can rely upon for guidance on matters of philosophy, aims, ethical standards and practices, subject and course guidelines, evaluation and examination standards, curriculum initiatives and other IB connected content or directives. Further, it needs to be recognised that the IBO plays an ongoing and significant role in the leadership of IB Schools throughout the world. Subject or workshop leaders at IB gatherings or conferences have to be IB approved subject examiners who have been accredited by the IBO for their examining and other curricular skills. Needless to say, these IBO approved workshop leaders are mainly appointed because they have their subject specific IB expertise which is rooted in years of successful teaching and examining

experience in the context of the International Baccalaureate. Further, the IBO is populated by ex-principals, teachers, heads of departments, vice-principals and other personnel who have had valuable experience on the International Baccalaureate curriculum.

A brief statement of specific International aims

One of the most distinctive features of the International Baccalaureate Organisation is its internationalism which is meant to underpin and pervade all areas of the curriculum. One needs to recognise that while different schools throughout the IB world might have their own different understandings of internationalism, the IBO is quite specific and clear in its multiple pronouncements which include statements which are similar to or an extension or development of the following:

The International Baccalaureate Organization aims to develop inquiring, knowledgeable and caring young people who help to create a better and more peaceful world through intercultural understanding and respect.

To this end the IBO works with schools, governments and international organizations to develop challenging programmes of international education and rigorous assessment.

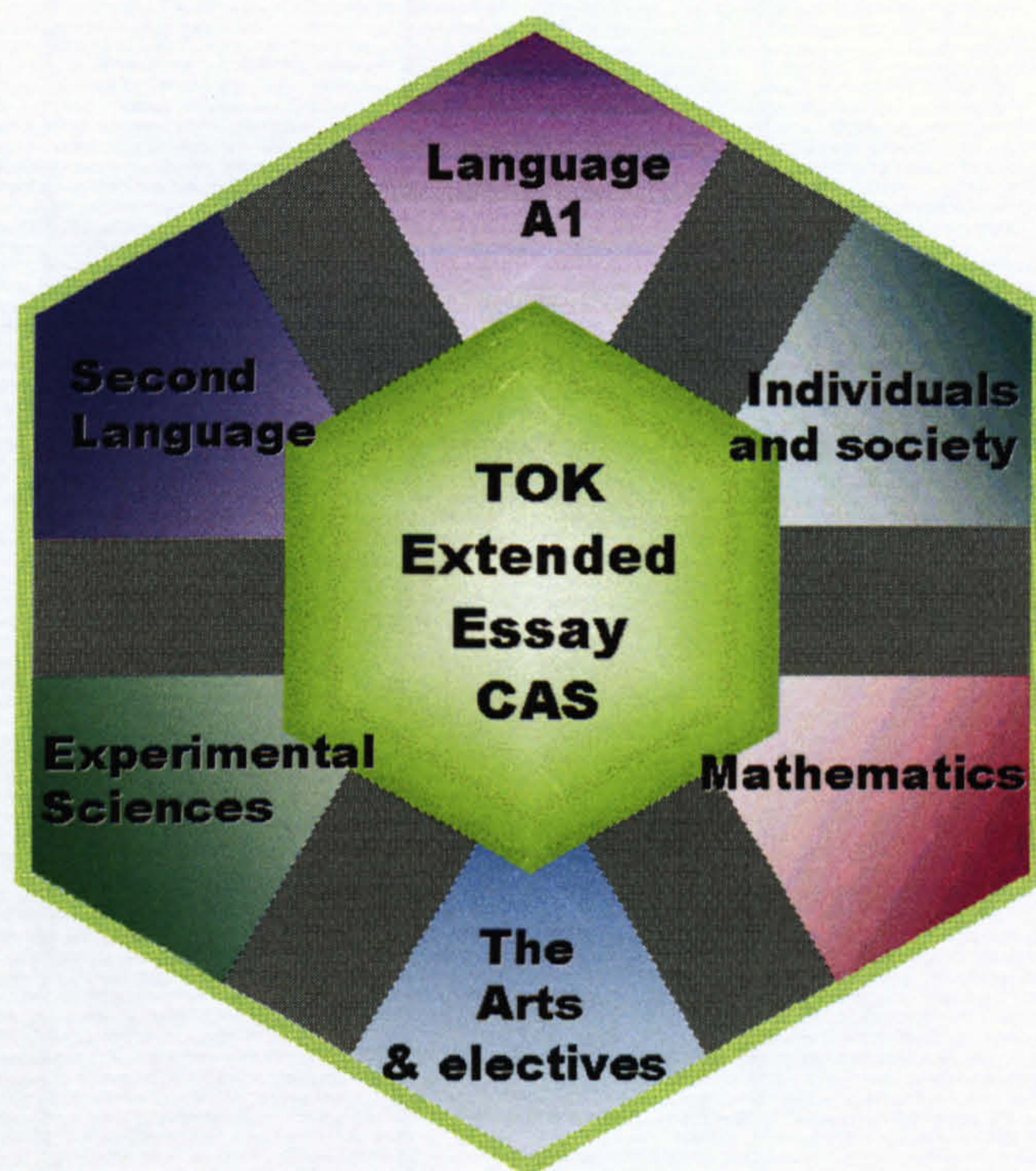
These programmes encourage students across the world to become active, compassionate and lifelong learners who understand that other people, with their differences, can also be right.

(IBO mission statement which pervades all IB course guides and brochures of IB schools)

The formal curricular framework through which the IB aims are realised

The aims of the IB curriculum have their own unique curricular framework which needs to be briefly described. Once this is out of the way more attention can be paid to broader and deeper statements about both the international and the intellectual aims of the IB. Needless to say there is an essential overlap between the international and the intellectual aims of the IB (Anderson-Gold 2001) (Annan 2000) (Davis 1995) (De Feyter 2005) (Finnis 1993) (Forsythe 2000). As mentioned above the Diploma programme is a rigorous pre-university course of study designed for students between the 16-19 age group. It is a broad-based two year course that aims to encourage

students to be knowledgeable and inquiring, but also caring and compassionate. There is a strong emphasis on encouraging students to develop intercultural understanding, open-mindedness, and the attitudes necessary for them to respect and evaluate a range of points of view (Dower 2002, 2003) (Forsythe 2000) (Held 1995, 2002) (Held & McGrew 2004) (Nussbaum 1997, 2000) (Osler 2000) (Osler & Starkey 2005a, 2005b). These considerations will be developed and receive more comprehensive attention under the heading and explanations of the IB Learner Profile further on. In the mean time it is important to mention that those who have been responsible for the development of the curriculum have mainly worked towards both breadth and depth which today can be visually illustrated in The Diploma Programme Hexagon:



The Diploma Programme Hexagon

The course is presented as six academic areas which enclose a central core. It encourages the concurrent study of a broad range of academic areas. International baccalaureate students study two modern languages (or a modern language and a classical language); a humanities or social science subject; an experimental science;

mathematics and one of the creative arts. It is this comprehensive and increasingly diverse range of subjects that makes the Diploma Programme a demanding course of study designed to prepare students effectively for university entrance. In each of the academic areas students have flexibility in making their choices, which means they can choose subjects that particularly interest them and which they also may wish to study further at university.

Diploma programme requirements and list of subjects that are at the moment available

There is a sense in which some might consider an appendix the right place for the placement of a menu of subjects available on the IB. I have thought about this but because of the central place that specific subjects in this list have in the main arguments in this thesis I have decided that I would not want my readers to be having to leaf through an appendix when they can in fact just turn back or forward to find what they need. The subjects available and their specific aims on the IB are at the kernel of what the IB curriculum is attempting to achieve so it is really imperative that they hold a place in the main body of the thesis.

Core

CAS

Extended Essay

Theory of Knowledge

Other Subjects

Group 1

Language A1

Language A1 Higher Level

Language A1 Standard Level

Text and Performance Standard Level

Group 2

Second Language

Language A2 Higher Level

Language A2 Standard Level

Language B Higher Level

Language B Standard Level

Classical Languages

Latin and Classical Greek Higher and Standard Level

Language ab initio

Group 3

Individuals and Societies

Business and Management Higher Level

Business and Management Standard Level

Economics Higher Level

Economics Standard Level

Ecosystems and Societies Standard Level

Geography Higher and Standard Level

History Higher and Standard Level

ITGS

Information Technology in a Global Society Higher and Standard Level

Islamic History

Philosophy Higher and Standard Level

Psychology Higher Level

Psychology Standard Level

Political Thought Standard Level

Peace and Conflict studies Standard Level

World Politics & International Relations Standard Level

Social and Cultural Anthropology

World Religions SL

Group 4

Experimental Sciences

Biology Higher and Standard Level

Chemistry Higher and standard Level

Design Technology Standard Level

Environmental Systems

Physics Higher Level and Standard Level

Sports, exercise and health Science

Group 5

Mathematics and Computer Science

Calculators

Computer science

Further mathematics SL

Mathematical studies SL

Mathematics HL

Mathematics SL

Group 6

Dance

Film

Music Higher and Standard Level

Theatre Arts Higher and Standard Level

Visual Arts Higher and Standard Level

Choosing the right combination

Students are required to choose one subject from each of the above mentioned academic areas; although they can choose a second subject from groups 1 to 5 instead of a group 6 subject. Normally, three subjects (and not more than four) are taken at higher level (HL), and others are taken at standard level (SL). The IBO recommends 240 teaching hours for HL subjects and 150 hours for SL. Subjects at HL are studied in greater depth and breadth than at SL.

At both levels, many skills are developed, especially those of critical thinking and analysis. At the end of the course, students' abilities are measured by means of external assessment. Many subjects contain some element of coursework assessed by teachers. The course is available for examinations in English, French and Spanish.

The core of the hexagon

All Diploma Programme students participate in the three course requirements that make up the core of the hexagon. Reflection on all these activities is a principle that lies at the heart of the thinking behind the Diploma Programme. The theory of knowledge (TOK) course encourages students to think about the nature of knowledge, to reflect on the process of learning in all they study as part of their Diploma Programme course, and to make connections across the academic areas. The extended essay is intended to be a substantial piece of writing of up to 4 000 words which offers students opportunities to investigate a topic of special interest that they have chosen themselves. It is also encourages them to develop the skills of independent research that will be expected at university. Creativity, action and service (CAS) involves students in experiential learning through a range of artistic, sporting, physical and service activities.

The IBO mission statement and the IB learner profile

Further to the IB mission statement above, the IB learner profile mentioned below has become the proudest and the most developed philosophical statement about the aims of the International Baccalaureate curriculum. It is definitely a statement which both underpins and is deeply connected to the development of my facilitation pedagogy for

international affairs education which is formulated in Chapter Two and Chapter Three and also applied in case studies throughout the rest of the thesis. I could very well find numerous quotations throughout the IB connected research mentioned in the bibliography but there is nothing more comprehensive or more concise than the IB Learner Profile which deals with both the international and intellectual aims of the IB Diploma. It is against this background that its fundamental principles need to be quoted.

‘The aim of all IB programmes is to develop internationally minded people who, recognizing their common humanity and shared guardianship of the planet, help to create a more peaceful world.

IB learners strive to be:

1) Inquirers

They develop their natural curiosity. They acquire the skills necessary to conduct enquiry and research and show independence in learning. They actively enjoy learning and this love of learning will be sustained throughout their lives.

2) Knowledgeable

They explore concepts, ideas and issues that have local and global significance. In so doing they acquire in-depth knowledge and understanding across a broad and balanced range of disciplines.

3) Thinkers

They exercise initiative in applying thinking skills critically and creatively to recognize and approach complex problems, and make reasoned, ethical decisions.

4) Communicators

They understand and express ideas and information confidently and creatively in more than one language and in a variety of modes of communication. They work effectively and willingly in collaboration with others.

5) Principled

They act with integrity and honesty, with a strong sense of fairness, justice and respect for the dignity of the individual, groups and communities. They take responsibility for their own actions and the consequences that accompany them.

6) Open-minded

They understand and appreciate their own cultures and personal histories, and are open to the perspectives, values and traditions of other individuals and communities. They are accustomed to seeking and evaluating a range of points of view, and are willing to grow from the experience.

7) Caring

They show empathy, compassion and respect towards the needs and feelings of others. They have a personal commitment to service, and act to make a positive difference to the lives of others and to the environment.

8) Risk-takers

They approach unfamiliar situations and uncertainty with courage and forethought, and have the independence of spirit to explore new roles, ideas and strategies. They are brave and articulate in defending their beliefs.

9) Balanced

They understand the importance of intellectual, physical and emotional balance to achieve personal well-being for themselves and for others.

10) Reflective

They give thoughtful consideration to their own learning and experience. They are able to assess and understand their strengths and limitations.

(Taken from the International Baccalaureate Organisation Online Curriculum Centre, March 2006)

While there are multiple International Baccalaureate aims spread throughout general IB curriculum documents and course guidelines and subject specific documents which are in the Online Curriculum Centre this quotation is central to the development of the facilitation pedagogy of this thesis. Its relevance will needless to say be fundamental in the thesis. What needs to be considered at this point in this chapter is the fact that the importance of the IB Learner Profile can be emphasised and indeed be intellectually driven by individual subject teachers on the IB but also by TOK and CAS teachers and Extended Essay supervisors. After careful consideration of the intellectual and moral and international content of the IB Learner Profile I personally see it as an excellent formula for reflection about my own approach to teaching on the

IB curriculum. I believe it has descriptive, directive, normative, interpretative and evaluative credentials and these credentials in turn have implications for facilitation pedagogy rather than a didactic pedagogy. I say this because a didactic pedagogy is more than likely to be top-down in its approach while a facilitative pedagogy will create an environment in which the above aims and principles in the IB Learner Profile which emphasise student autonomy, caring and intellectual international understanding can be developed (Dower 2002, 2003) (Forsythe 2000) (Held 1995, 2002) (Held & McGrew 2004) (Nussbaum 1997, 2000) (Osler 2000) (Osler & Starkey 2005a, 2005b).

Theory of Knowledge (TOK)

It is quite clear to anyone who is familiar with the IB Learner Profile that TOK as a compulsory core course on the IB can help teachers and learners realise the aims of the IB. One might say that it is the philosophical light which is meant to guide and help teachers and students prioritise the teaching and learning process in such a way that the aims of the IB might be embodied in the curriculum at every level. It would only take a cursory glance at the main emphases in the TOK Course guide for any reader to realise that it is not without reason that TOK is central to the entire IB philosophy (See TOK Diagram in Section Four of Appendix One). The IB Learner Profile is clearly applied, developed, approved and supported by IB teachers who believe in the central role of TOK in the IB curriculum. It is interesting to note how highly compatible the content in the quotation below is with the main principles of the IB Learner Profile above.

The Theory of Knowledge (TOK)

The Theory of Knowledge (TOK) programme is central to the educational philosophy of the International Baccalaureate. It challenges students and their teachers to reflect critically on diverse ways of knowing and areas of knowledge, and to consider the role which knowledge plays in a global society. It encourages students to become aware of themselves as thinkers, to become aware of the complexity of knowledge, and to recognize the need to act responsibly in an increasingly interconnected world.

As a thoughtful and purposeful enquiry into different ways of knowing, and into different kinds of knowledge, the TOK programme is composed almost entirely of questions. The most central of these questions is 'How do I, or how do we, know that

a given assertion is true, or a given judgement is well grounded?’ Assertions or judgements of this sort are termed ‘knowledge claims’, while the difficulties that arise in addressing these questions are the broad areas known as ‘problems of knowledge’. The programme entails the application of this central question to many different, yet interrelated, topics.

Questions are the very essence of TOK, both ageless questions on which thinkers have been reflecting for centuries and new ones, often challenging to accepted belief, which are posed by contemporary life. Engaging with students in a critical examination of knowledge, teachers will foster an appreciation of the quest for knowledge, in particular its importance, its complexities, and its human implications. A teacher may hope to bring alive the questions in this guide for a new generation of knowers, and to encourage them to gain and apply their own knowledge with greater awareness and responsibility.

To guide teachers in the design and construction of their courses, the questions have been grouped into four broad categories: Knowers and Knowing, Ways of Knowing, Areas of Knowledge and Linking questions. These categories and the elements which they encompass are represented graphically in a TOK diagram, in which knowers, that is the individual or the community, are at the centre.

The grouping of questions, both into the broad categories and within each subsection, is for the purpose of conceptual clarity. The concepts underlying categorisation are, of course, essentially contestable.

The categories are not intended to dictate a teaching approach. TOK can be taught, for example, by working through the elements in all four categories sequentially, or by focusing on Ways of Knowing and seeing how each applies to the Areas of Knowledge. It can also be taught by using the Linking Questions to weave through the elements in Ways of Knowing and Areas of Knowledge. Many effective approaches are possible and, while being sensitive to the needs of their students, teachers are encouraged to be adventurous.

(TOK IB Guide 1999 p.3)

In the spirit of the above, the TOK programme is fundamental to the realisation of the aims of the IB. It is through TOK that hopefully students will become aware of the fact that they might become aware of different ways of learning, knowing and thinking. Further, they also need to identify themselves as being certain kinds of learners, knowers and thinkers. What needs to be distilled from the above is that the IB through TOK and the IB Learner Profile hopes to create the kind of pedagogic environment in which IB students will become independent and responsible human beings who can think critically and empathetically about all sorts of local, regional, national and international issues in our increasingly interconnected world.

With the emphasis on the student asking questions and challenging assumptions as central to the pursuit of both TOK and the IB Learner Profile one can inevitably assume that IB classes in many of the subject areas listed above will be contestable environments. It is on this basis that one can also assume that there should be the expectation among all teachers in the IB world that there is no place for bias, propaganda and indoctrination. This argument is developed more fully in Chapter Seven. However for the moment it needs to be recognised that the principles of thinking, and the 'open-minded and reflective and caring' are fundamental in the IB Learner Profile, the TOK course, the CAS programme and the subject specific ethos of the Diploma Programme.

It will become apparent throughout this thesis that the absence of 'international affairs' as a compulsory subject is seen as shortcoming of the IB curriculum. This is argued in greater detail and more comprehensively in the rest of the thesis but certainly more comprehensively in Chapter Eight. While the absence of a compulsory international affairs course is clearly found to be a deficiency in the IB curriculum what is clearly not absent is the IB curriculum's intention to ensure that students develop both an 'ethical and a political' sense of global issues or international affairs. This reality in a sense affirms my belief that a well developed international affairs course is essential for the realisation of the international and intellectual aims in the IB Learner Profile, the specific academic subjects and the TOK and the CAS domains of the IB curriculum. In short, international affairs as a compulsory subject could enable the realisation of the international and intellectual aims across the entire IB curriculum. Further, it seems to me that the absence of a compulsory international affairs course presents the IB with an obstacle which in its own immeasurable way prevents the realisation of many of the aims of the IB curriculum.

The questions below which are direct quotes from the TOK guide are highly compatible with the intellectual pursuits of the IB Learner Profile but are also philosophically compatible with the kind of questions that teachers of international affairs could be asking on a compulsory programme. None of the questions is targeted at a specific nation state so both teachers and students have the freedom to explore these interesting philosophical questions in the context of the countries they inhabit or the countries that they might be interested in. These questions which merely constitute

a fragment of a long list of even deeper or more complex questions that might be asked on a compulsory international affairs class include the following:

Ethics and Politics

- Is politics primarily concerned with what is or what ought to be? Is it a study of the workings of power, with possible attendant corruption, or is it a study of ethical concepts of how people ought to live together in a society?
- Are the following ideas political, ethical, or both: justice, rights, social responsibility, equality, and freedom? Is the concept of property an ethical idea? Is the concept of Society an ethical idea?
- To what extent are political systems such as autocracy, democracy, theocracy and communism, in their ideal forms, allied with ethical ideas of the right way for people to live in a society? To what extent might each system embody different concepts of justice and social responsibility?
- Does politics affect the ethics of a society?
- Is there an obligation on an individual to be politically aware, or even politically active? Conversely, is there an obligation on an individual to refrain from political action? Can one avoid being affected by politics?
- How should the language of political debate be analysed and judged? Is there a greater need for analysis in politics than in other Areas of Knowledge?
- What is the influence of politics on other Areas of Knowledge, such as the natural and human sciences, history and the arts? What, conversely, might be the influence of these other Areas of Knowledge on politics?
- When the moral codes of individual nations conflict, can criteria be developed for an international morality which transcends them? What are the justifications for, and functions of, such ethical and political documents such as the Geneva Conventions for warfare or the United Nations Declarations of Human Rights

(TOK IB Guide 1999 p.29)

Quite clearly a credible international affairs programme would do well to be asking the kind of philosophical questions which are promoted throughout the TOK Guide. What merits particular praise here is that the questions are mainly phrased in such a way that they can be asked in all sorts of diverse local, regional, national and international scenarios (Dower 2002, 2003) (Forsythe 2000) (Held 1995, 2002) (Held & McGrew 2004) (Nussbaum 1997, 2000) (Osler 2000) (Osler & Starkey 2005a,

2005b). What is also very clear about the quotation above is that students are indeed encouraged to look at politics from an ethical perspective on the one hand and ethics from a political perspective on the other. These are important concerns in any school but in the context of internationalism and international schools the TOK programme is clearly highlighting that ethical and political considerations are fundamental to what students in international schools should be discussing. Further to this, it needs to be asserted that if the TOK programme is suggesting that ethical and political issues must be explored in international schools, it is also saying that all international schools should be studying international affairs. In a sense the multiple statements or prescriptions in the quotations above serve the interests of my argument for a compulsory international affairs course very well. I say this because such a programme will indeed be addressing these concerns far more comprehensively across a wider variety of case studies than any TOK programme might. The TOK programme has far too many other modules such as aesthetics, history, the social sciences, religion, mathematics, the physical sciences and the natural sciences to do justice to the 'ethical and political' considerations alluded to above. From another perspective I do not think that it is the responsibility of TOK teachers to necessarily deal with these 'ethical and political' considerations comprehensively. TOK needs to be seen as a core discipline which steers all teachers and students in the right direction. By raising the ethical and political questions above and getting the students to consider them briefly the facilitator does serve the role of whetting the appetite of her students to deal with these issues in more comprehensive and more profound case study scenarios. I personally believe the position of TOK on the IB curriculum should be unassailable primarily because its questions and its promptings and its focus on the students asking themselves such important questions have inestimable educational value. Any critic of TOK who might challenge the programme because of its lack of detail or case study material or indeed lack of philosophy is missing the point of what TOK is all about. TOK is a service discipline which hopefully through its dialogic and questioning approach can steer and guide students into asking these ethical and political questions not only in TOK classes but also in many of their other classes which might include literature, environmental systems, geography, ecosystems, politics, philosophy and any other relevant subject which is mentioned in the six groups of IB subjects above. Experienced TOK teachers know that TOK questions and speculations and critical thinking considerations really come alive when they are

contextualised within the framework of the content of all the subjects which are available within all six groups of the Hexagon. It is however more than likely in the context of the ethical, political, global and internationalist concerns of this thesis that the subjects in Groups 1, 2, 3 and 6 would feature more prominently (Dower 2002, 2003) (Forsythe 2000) (Held 1995, 2002) (Held & McGrew 2004) (Nussbaum 1997, 2000) (Osler 2000) (Osler & Starkey 2005a, 2005b).

Further to this point, it is important that I take one final opportunity to affirm as forcefully as I might some major concerns about TOK and the IB curriculum. The first thing is that the 'ethical and political' considerations raised above are not issues that are only the concern and obligation of students or teachers whose subjects afford far more numerous opportunities to deal with these issues. Some for example might consider that 'Individuals and Societies' (Group 3) subjects suggest that the students and teachers of these subjects should somehow or other take a lead on these issues. However, scientists, biologists and mathematicians and physicists in the context of the subject courses on the IB are expected to be informed about internationalism, ethics and politics and philosophical questions about international affairs scenarios. In fact it is my experience on the IB that many teachers from these disciplines play a leadership role in TOK and the CAS programmes and many of them are also critical thinkers of extraordinary ability in matters of ethics, politics and international affairs. These same people as IB teachers do not just see themselves exclusively as physicists, mathematicians or chemists or biologists. They see themselves as internationalists who in terms of the criteria and expectations of TOK should also be concerned about ethical and political issues. I make these comments unreservedly because I believe that the content of the core subjects such as TOK and CAS and the internationalist content which is also implicit in every subject on the IB creates a kind of equality of responsibility for international affairs or global citizenship education for all teachers on the IB irrespective of the subject that they are teaching.

It is difficult to play a role as an internationalist on the IB if one does not believe in the importance of ethics and politics

In terms of the quotations above, internationalists are people who believe that ethics and politics are important concerns. This is what we learn and understand from the TOK syllabus and also from the IB Learner Profile. However, the course guidelines in all subjects highlight the same point. It is not surprising that ethics and politics pervade the IB curriculum at every level but what is really important to recognise is the historical and social background against which the IB was established in 1968. Some important events and concerns might include the following:

- 1 The twentieth century had experienced two world wars which both resulted in the annihilation of hundreds of millions of people.
- 2 Hundreds of thousands of people had been killed or disabled during the nuclear annihilations of Nagasaki and Hiroshima
- 3 Besides the numerous other wars which preceded this period, the Vietnam War was at its height and the West and the Soviet Union were teetering on the brink of a nuclear confrontation.
- 4 Apartheid South Africa and many other oppressive regimes were flourishing in different parts of the world.

The establishment of the International Baccalaureate made a lot of sense in an era which saw the world lurching dangerously towards cataclysm. Since then The Soviet Empire has fragmented and Europe, the USA, Russia and China and many other countries in the world enjoy better relationships in an age of increasing economic globalization. The world however is far from a much safer place. Those who believe in both ‘ethics and politics’ at the highest level of international diplomacy recognise that skills in international negotiation require that we use the understandings that can be gleaned from these areas of knowledge as important weapons against the inevitability of war which continues to remain a powerful enemy of peace. Ethics and politics must remain at the heart of the IB in an age which promises war, poverty,

squalor and oppression on the one hand and increasing global communication, reconciliation and affluence on the other. IB concerns in ethics and politics must not only focus on worst case scenarios. International education should also concern itself with the achievements and success of nations and that of course would include the successes of the United Nations and other humanitarian and peace keeping initiatives throughout the globe.

Creativity, Action and Service (CAS)

Against the background to the very brief references to the facilitative above it is perhaps appropriate that here I focus on the importance of the CAS programme. I say this because facilitative thinking is not just about reflection and decision making it is also about praxis or programmes of action. In this sense it is important that the reader is informed that CAS which is at the Core of the IB programme is as compulsory as TOK, the Extended Essay and the six subjects all students have to do on the IB programme (See CAS Diagram in Section Four of Appendix One).

Creativity, Action and Service (CAS)

*'CAS is the quality difference of the IBO-*Mario Piaggio, member of the CAS committee

The creativity, action, service (CAS) requirement takes seriously the importance of life outside the world of scholarship, providing a counterbalance to the academic-self-absorption some students may feel within a demanding school curriculum. The creative, physical and social development of human beings can be shaped by their own experiences. Participation in CAS encourages students to share their energies and special talents while developing awareness, concern and the ability to work cooperatively with others. The IBO's goal of educating the whole person and fostering more caring and socially responsible attitudes comes alive in an immediate way when students reach beyond themselves and their books. The educational benefits of CAS apply in the school community, and in local, national and international communities.

CAS should extend the students. It should challenge them to develop a value system by which they enhance their personal growth. It should develop a spirit of open-mindedness, lifelong learning, discovery and self-reliance. It should encourage the development of new skills on many levels: for example creative skills, physical skills and social skills. It should inspire a sense of responsibility towards all members of the community. It should also encourage the development of attitudes and traits that will

be respected by others, such as determination and commitment, initiative and empathy. (CAS Guide 2003)

There are many who are proud of the IB curriculum, who believe that the Service projects are the most transforming element of the CAS programme and the IB programme. They would further argue that these activities have the potential to nurture the appropriate environment to nurture the sense, skills and spirit of global citizenship (See Chapter Four). They draw attention to the fact that Service involves getting the students to interact in such a way that build links with individuals or groups in the community. Further, they suggest that the community may be the school, the local district or it may exist on national and international levels. The latter they explain might mean IB students undertaking projects of assistance in a developing country. Service activities should not only involve doing things for others but also doing things with others and developing a real commitment with them. The relationship therefore should show respect for the dignity and self-respect of others. Besides the 150 hours of Creativity, Action and Service which are as compulsory as TOK, Extended Essay and the six subjects on the IB, the CAS programme offers the students multiple opportunities to experience internationalism in a different way from any of the other programmes on the IB.

What I personally would like to emphasise here is that for the purposes of this project which focuses on a facilitation pedagogy for international affairs education on the IB, CAS activities can be thematically linked to an international affairs project for IB schools. In Appendix Two I provide the reader with a summary of how an international affairs project on the Arab / Israeli Question can be linked to Creativity, Action and Service opportunities for the students. It is important to recognise particularly in the context of Service that students can become involved in all sorts of fundraising, other charity, teaching, letter writing and other varieties of aid, development and social justice projects which can make their experiences of internationalism more credible, more concrete and more profound.

For those who know the IB, there are clearly no official or compulsory citizenship or global citizenship programmes as there are in the National curriculum for England and Wales. CAS as a compulsory prerequisite on the IB does in a sense ask certain questions about the possibility of it being linked to a compulsory global citizenship

programme. In Chapter Eight I make a case for a compulsory international affairs programme on the IB and in so doing I also attempt to forge a meaningful and coherent philosophical link between international affairs, global citizenship, the IB Learner Profile and CAS.

**The Design of the IB Diploma and the imperatives of its philosophical content
imply a certain kind of student centred pedagogy**

If the international and intellectual aims of the IB which are explicit or implied under all the above headings above are to be comprehensively realised it is essential that IB teachers employ a certain kind of pedagogy. Quite clearly the two groups of aims overlap at certain points almost to the point of being indistinguishable. In terms of the development of the IB Learner Profile above one cannot really be an internationalist without also being knowledgeable or open minded , caring, reflective and a good communicator. Above all, these aims do not make sense unless the individuals concerned have moral principles which are compatible with an internationalist approach. An internationally minded student is clearly someone who is intellectually independent enough to understand and respect the individual ideological, religious or cultural differences that exist among individuals among different cultures and nations. She is also probably someone who is not surprised by these differences because she recognises that there are intellectual and ideological and spiritual differences among individuals in her own religious, cultural and political group. She is also someone who in the spirit of the IB will have the modesty and humility to recognise that those who disagree with her on a whole raft of issues might be right. This of course does not mean that she might not renege on her principles or well thought out positions because of the opposition she might encounter when she discusses highly contestable international affairs scenarios such as the Arab / Israeli Question or USA Foreign Policy.

What the main concerns of this thesis will indicate is that students if they are to become good internationally minded students ought to really be studying international affairs as a compulsory subject on the IB. I say this mainly because I do not believe one can become internationally minded if one does not have more than just a basic literacy in international affairs. Further, there cannot be many multi-disciplinary

subjects such as international affairs which can challenge the students in such a way that their intellectual, emotional and social skills are properly developed. International affairs as I develop and define it, offers vast opportunities for the realisation of both the international and the intellectual aims of the International Baccalaureate. I say this as prelude to the most important underpinning of this thesis which is my facilitation pedagogy for international affairs on the IB. This facilitation pedagogy is developed throughout Chapter Two and Chapter Three but it is also applied in specific case studies in Chapters Four, Five, Six and Seven.

What is so distinctive about the IB Diploma programme that suggests it requires a facilitative pedagogical approach

If one looks at the aims reflected in the various headings above one needs to recognise that the IB programme has clearly defined aims and objectives which imply that a certain pedagogical approach is necessary. It is quite clear that the many imperatives in these quotations suggest that a facilitative rather than a didactic approach would be more credible. I say this because a didactic approach is hardly the kind of approach which is going to insist that the IB learner rather than the curriculum content is prior in importance in the learning process. In Chapter Three I argue the case for a facilitation pedagogy which is rooted in an existential approach which I believe is highly compatible with the idea of young IB students making up their own minds on what is right and wrong, good and bad, just and unjust and legal and illegal. Schools should be places where young people are encouraged to explore and analyse and find their own way and make their own judgements. The IB Diploma insists on these considerations so when I develop my existential facilitation pedagogy for international affairs education which is rooted in the IB I will make sure to connect its basic principles such as freedom, autonomy, creativity and responsibility with the principles and building blocks which are already established in this Chapter.

However, while I have decided that an existential phenomenological approach best suits a facilitation pedagogy for international affairs education on the IB I need to develop the phenomenological approach in Chapter Two. This separation of the phenomenological from the existential makes sense from many points of view but the sequencing of the treatment of the phenomenological prior to the existential makes a

lot of sense too. In this project the phenomenological emphasis on the ‘multiple narratives’ of the ‘lived experiences’ of individuals as existential subjects in international affairs scenarios is primary and fundamental to my case study approach to international affairs education. I have deemed it therefore appropriate that the exposition and description of these multiple narratives ought to be laid bare before the existential emphasis on choice and decision making about these ‘narratives’ become an important concern. In short existential decision making which is responsible decision making should in the context of international affairs case studies only occur after the students have explored all the ‘multiple narratives’ of a specific international affairs scenario.

In addition to the literature which is cited from time to time in relation to particular points discussed, the reader will find in a special appendix a number of bibliographical summaries which provide an overview of the sources of the ideas developed throughout the thesis. They are listed under the headings of Existentialism, Phenomenology, the ‘narrative’ and ‘multiple narratives’ approach, human rights and the UDHR, Global Citizenship, Facilitation Pedagogy, and the general philosophical approach adopted.

Chapter Two

A phenomenological approach to a facilitation pedagogy for international affairs education on the IB

Introduction

I concluded Chapter One by affirming that doing international affairs on the IB was not only a good thing; I also claimed that it was essential that students be studying international affairs as a compulsory subject so that they could become internationalists in the international affairs sense of the word. The argument for a compulsory international affairs programme on the IB is fully developed and completed in Chapter Eight. In Chapter One I also briefly alluded to the fact that as far as I am concerned it is difficult to take an international education seriously if students are graduating with an IB Diploma without being equipped to do international affairs descriptions, analyses and interpretations. These activities many would argue are fundamental prerequisites for intelligent communication on international affairs or any kind of credible internationalism. Some would further argue that it would indeed be a sad day if students after spending two years on the International Baccalaureate diploma programme were not able to think, reflect, analyse, talk and write about international affairs. They would state this even more emphatically because they would also argue that the IB is specifically intended for students who intend to further their studies at university.

The concerns of this chapter build on the international and intellectual aims of Chapter One and illustrate how through a phenomenological approach to facilitation pedagogy as opposed to a didactic pedagogy, IB students can become more literate in their understandings of international affairs. Further to this, it is important that I also illustrate to my readers how my case study approach which emphasises a phenomenological approach to the study of the content of international affairs could be a sound way in which a compulsory programme in international affairs could be delivered to IB students. In these matters I need to work methodically. Before proceeding with the primary concerns of this chapter, I need to affirm that this chapter provides a phenomenological approach towards facilitation pedagogy while Chapter

Three presents an existential approach towards facilitation pedagogy. Hopefully both chapters will provide the reader with a better understanding of my overall existential phenomenological approach towards international affairs education on the IB.

A phenomenological approach to a facilitation pedagogy for international affairs

I have been using a phenomenological approach towards international affairs analyses for decades. I continue to use it because I believe it is philosophically sound and also because in the context of facilitation pedagogy it helps students to become better at international affairs analyses. I know of no quotation or definition which matches the many ways in which I use the phenomenological approach so I will attempt to provide a brief outline of what I think about when I employ my brand of the phenomenological approach to international affairs scenarios. Needless to say, I see my brand of the phenomenological approach as a means to an end rather than an end in itself. In this project the phenomenological approach is used as an important stage in the complex process of international affairs descriptions and analyses on the IB curriculum. It therefore provides some continuity between the aims of the IB curriculum espoused in the IB Learner Profile and other sources in Chapter One and the important focus on responsible decision making that inheres in the existential approach to facilitation pedagogy in Chapter Three. It is against this background that I wish to highlight the important phenomenological ideas or values that lie in the following:

(1) The phenomenological approach has value for international affairs analyses because it emphasises that both teachers and learners suspend their judgements when describing and analysing international affairs scenarios.

(2) Despite the fact that this is a difficult thing to do, the phenomenologist is someone who will not allow her axiological, metaphysical, religious, ethical, political, ideological and other normative presuppositions to interfere with her phenomenological descriptions. She takes this stance because she wants to genuinely find out why, for example, the different Palestinian or the different Israeli individuals believe, feel, think, plan, behave and act in the way they do.

(3) In her process of description and understanding why these participants in this complex and problematic situation do think and act in the way they do, she might look at reliable questionnaires and authoritative recorded interviews or reputable history, economics, business, political, sociological, human rights, capabilities approach and other serious academic studies. Some of these might also include credible journalism, journal articles, autobiographies and political biographies.

(4) Because she is a phenomenologist she will want to look very carefully at how the researchers or academics went about their research and how they engaged in their interviews and their other academic enterprises. She will as a phenomenologist want to ensure that the methodology of these information gathering exercises accorded with the highest standards of phenomenology. The phenomenological approach would require that those engaged in phenomenological description would also be reasonably detached, objective and unbiased.

(5) As a phenomenologist she will know that research can be qualitatively misguided because it is biased towards a naive kind of empiricism or sociology or psychology or any other kind of uninformed reductionism. Further, bias can emerge in a phenomenological description if the describer allows her feelings of animosity or any other biases to interfere with the objective and empathetic task of phenomenological description. It would not be an exaggeration to say that the phenomenologist wants to listen objectively to all the voices in an international affairs scenario. She will try to ensure that her students objectively explore, summarise, record and report what all individuals or groups or leaders or governments or dictators or militants or prisoners or victims or winners or losers on both sides of a conflict think, feel, say, plan and do.

(6) Against this background therefore, phenomenological thinking is empathetic in the sense that it wishes to 'lay bare' the essentials of 'the lived experiences' and lives of the participants in an international affairs scenario. In so doing it wants to dig deep below the surface of appearances. The IB students must therefore do their utmost to locate reliable accounts of what people think, say and do by looking at reputable journals and articles and other sources which have focused on primary and secondary sources. the phenomenologist will encourage them to have a high regard for an

evidence-based approach which aims at accurately reporting, interpreting and understanding why political actors and agents think, feel, believe, plan and act in the way they do. As a phenomenologist she will encourage her students to see knowledge in a holistic way which highlights the benefits of an approach which values 'subjective' and 'intersubjective' considerations in their international affairs explorations, summaries, interpretations and understandings. Through this approach, the phenomenologist facilitator will try to ensure that her students use a holistic phenomenological approach which will be mindful of political, religious, ideological, human rights, ecological, geographical, economic, business and technological, sociological, psychological, educational, medical, literary and other considerations.

(7) In this sense the phenomenologist at the stage of description, which is really where the phenomenological focus lies, is not interested in whether the behaviour of the participants is good or bad or right or wrong or just or unjust or legal or illegal. She is just interested in how these participants see, interpret and understand their own experiences of their world or the worlds of others. In other words, the phenomenologist's values on moral and political issues are not as important as the values of those individuals who are being described. In fact, good phenomenological description would want to understand what the participants in an 'international affairs' scenario regarded as good and bad or right or wrong or just and unjust or legal or illegal. These value judgements are obviously part of the 'lived experiences' of the participants but so too are their reflections, plans and actions connected to these lived experiences. It is important for the IB student phenomenologist to realise that phenomenological description is very much concerned with the totality of the 'lived experiences' of individuals as individuals but also their 'lived experiences' as members of organisations and groups. It is important that the IB student phenomenologist does not only see the 'lived experiences' of the participants exclusively as suffering victims. She needs to describe, see and understand them also as interpreting and responsive agents who believe they can do something constructive or creative about their condition or circumstances. The IB student phenomenologist can therefore differentiate between her role as someone employing a phenomenological approach on the one hand and as someone who can also employ an existential approach on the other. In the context of this thesis this is an important

distinction because the IB student employing an existential approach receives full and undivided attention in Chapter Three.

(8) In other words a phenomenologist will certainly want to hear what the participants have to say about what has happened to them and what they are hoping for. In both instances which might include their sufferings and their human rights aspirations, the phenomenologist as a sympathetic and empathetic observer will adopt a listening approach. This is her style because on the matter of the concerns of the participants she wants to get as close to the truth as possible.

(9) In the context of this thesis my brand of phenomenology is intended to help IB teachers in their explorations of what is happening or what has happened in international affairs scenarios. Better than that however it can play a role and in this thesis it does play a role in developing what I sincerely hope is a sound facilitation pedagogy for international affairs analyses on the IB.

(10) The students need to understand that the employment of the phenomenological approach is an essential part of an overall critical thinking approach in international affairs analysis (Husserl 1964) (Langeveld 1959) (Sartre 1948, 1958) (Spurling 1977) (Vandenberg 1970, 1971) (See all the aims of IB Learner Profile).

A phenomenological approach is more effective or easier to understand when it is pursued through the ‘narrative’ and ‘multiple narratives’ approaches

The word phenomenology itself can be quite intimidating to both IB teachers and students. All the philosophical abstractions that accompany it can also deepen the anxiety of those who are not well versed in its complexity. However because something is complex it does not necessarily follow that one should shy away from it. Further, in this project, I use phenomenology in a minimalist way. Another way of making the same point is to recognise that instead of emphasising the ‘lived experiences’ of the participants in international affairs scenarios, the IB student researcher can focus on the ‘narratives’ of people’s lives. The ‘narratives’ of a group such as the Palestinians are best described as ‘multiple narratives’ because no experiences of individuals are identical. Further we also know that these beleaguered

people have endured terrible sufferings since 1947. There are generations of Palestinians who have had similar but also very different experiences. Further to this point, one needs to recognise that today the Palestinians who are Israeli citizens who also might be Christians rather than Moslems might have different understandings of the Palestinian plight from their fellow Palestinians who are living in the Diaspora in Jordan or other states. They also might have different understandings of how best to proceed on their state of affairs. We know that they are stateless and millions of them live in a Diaspora throughout the Arab World and there are many still today who wish to be allowed to return to Palestine / Israel. One just has to look at their history and the conflicts between Hamas and Fatah today to recognise that many men women and children are traumatised by The Occupation and also despair at their lack of a future. A 'multiple narratives' approach which will inform IB learners about the 'multiple narratives' of the millions of Palestinians and Israelis and will enable them to explore and know and understand why both these groups live in fear of the present and the future. Of course these are not the only 'narratives' connected to these two groups who are also populated by many who are working for a Two State Solution. It is important therefore to recognise that neither phenomenological description nor the 'multiple narratives' approach only reveal bad news which is devoid of any hope, optimism or a desire to work for a lasting peace.

For purposes of seeing my understanding of 'narrative' and 'multiple narratives' as an extension of the phenomenological I would like to provide the following definition which is applicable to the use of the terms in this project:

(1) At the outset it is most important that the reader does not get the misplaced idea that the phenomenological is 'one approach' and that the 'narrative' and 'multiple narrative approaches' are different alternatives. In other words both the 'narrative' and the 'multiple narratives approaches' are really to be understood as a pedagogical strategy for getting students to work within the broader phenomenological approach. Personally, I have never had too much difficulty in enabling staff or students to understand the concepts and values of all three terms. The compatibility of the terminology often resonates very clearly in practical analyses of international affairs scenarios in my case study approach which is explained and developed towards the end of this chapter and in Chapter Eight.

‘Narrative’ is a helpful concept because the IB student analysers will be asked to read about and listen to the stories of individuals and groups in a particular ‘international affairs’ scenario. ‘Multiple narratives’ is a useful plural of ‘narrative’ and needs to be made distinct from ‘narrative’ because it highlights the plurality and heterogeneity of ‘lived-experiences’ of individuals in a particular family, group, organisation, community, region, nation or the international community. From another point of view one can quite clearly imagine and understand the multiple narratives that exist in one person’s life (Cobley 2001) (Cooper 1990) (Hall 2004) (Klooster 2001) (Malpas 2005) (Porter Abbot 2005). For example Prime Minister De Klerk of South Africa can be understood through two distinct ‘narratives’; the one being his life as De Klerk the supporter of Apartheid while the other must have a focus on De Klerk as a democrat who helped Mandela establish democracy in South Africa. Many who are familiar with South African history will know that Afrikaner leaders had to understand the ‘multiple narratives’ that existed within their own ranks and also the broader social context of South African society.

(2) The idea of ‘narrative’ and ‘multiple narratives’ should in the same way as my phenomenological approach do something for the descriptive prowess of IB student analysers of international affairs scenarios. It should help them search for and focus on relevant revelations in the literature, history, autobiographies, biographies, gossip, rumour, definitive and less definitive political conversations of people in international affairs scenarios.

(3) Finally the user of the ‘narrative’ or ‘multiple narratives’ approaches will want to listen to a comprehensive range of narratives before making up her mind or formulating her informed opinions about international affairs scenarios.

Some very important ‘post-phenomenological’ normative connections which pervade this thesis

While the overall existential phenomenological approach is the kernel to this thesis and the phenomenological approach to facilitation pedagogy is at the heart of this chapter it is important that the reader recognises the following:

(1) Once the IB student analyser of international affairs has performed her role as a describer of the 'lived experiences' and the 'multiple narratives' in international affairs scenarios she is in a sense free to deliver personal, analytical and interpretative and normative judgements on what is good or bad or right and wrong and just or unjust or legal and illegal in international affairs scenarios.

(2) The IB student analyser obviously makes these sorts of judgements when she does her phenomenological analyses but she does them within the framework of an accurate description of the normative evaluations of what she thinks the participants in specific international affairs scenarios think is good and bad and right and wrong, just and unjust and legal and illegal.

(3) As a phenomenologist the IB student analyser does not present her normative interpretations of international affairs scenarios. She provides phenomenological description of the way things are in a scenario. She does not say how things ought to be.

(4) In this project the IB student analyser once she has done her phenomenological description will be free to make sense of that description in terms of human rights, capabilities approach and global citizenship considerations. The profound normative resources which inhere in these considerations from time to time provide frameworks for the students as existential subjects to make decisions on matters of good and bad, right and wrong, just and unjust, legal and illegal. It is against this background that I believe that it was appropriate and indeed sensible for me to separate the descriptive which is phenomenological from the normative which in the context of this project is rooted in the existential notions of choice, freedom, duty and judgement. While human rights and global citizenship definitions and concerns receive fairly comprehensive treatment in Chapter Four it would be useful to briefly provide the reader with at least an introductory or working definition of the capabilities approach here. The capabilities approach offers a way of making comparisons between levels of well-being between persons in different parts of the world and thus can be a basis for assessments of social and global justice. It is also offered as an alternative to other theories such as straight utilitarianism or Rawls's

theory of primary goods. It does this by setting up a list of ten basic capabilities, which Nussbaum thinks everyone could accept as essential contributions to human flourishing (Nussbaum 2000). These ten capabilities between them constitute a threshold below which no one ought fall if justice is to be secured for all individuals in all societies. The list includes the following capabilities:

- (1) Life
- (2) Bodily health
- (3) Bodily integrity
- (4) senses, imagination and thought
- (5) emotions
- (6) practical reason
- (7) affiliation
- (8) relations to other species
- (9) play
- (10) control over the environment

It is not as if this section on the capabilities approach is disconnected from the intellectual content of the existential, the phenomenological or human rights foci. Quite to the contrary, the capabilities approach has something to offer the international affairs discussions in this thesis. The capabilities approach provides those studying international affairs with profound insights into how the individuals can help themselves and each other to become more capable of taking charge of their lives. It is an empowering philosophy which recognises that a lack of democracy, poverty, bad education and poor social and economic environments can have a disabling effect on peoples' lives. Nussbaum perceives the capabilities approach as an approach which should empower both men and women but much of her philosophy is targeted at the empowerment of women who are disabled by patriarchal and undemocratic political systems. There is much in her practical and critical thinking which inspires one into believing that in many parts of the world where women are oppressed, they can through democracy become more fully human by becoming more fully involved in their communities. Against the background of a visit to rural Andhra Pradesh she says:

The capabilities approach is the systematization and theorization of just thoughts and plans. It is plural because what women strive for contains a plurality of irreducibly distinct components. It is focused on capability or empowerment, even as the women's own thinking is focused on creating opportunities and choices, rather than imposing on someone a required mode of functioning. To the thinking that is already there it adds a set of arguments linking the capabilities list to underlying ideas of human dignity that help us test candidates for inclusion; it adds a framing political approach showing how these ideas of capability and functioning will deal with legitimate concerns about diversity and pluralism; it adds arguments linking capabilities to specific political principles that can be embodied in constitutional guarantees. Finally it adds arguments showing very clearly the incompatibility of this approach with other prevalent alternatives. In these ways, it seems to me, the approach can fairly claim to make a distinctive contribution to the practical pursuit of gender justice.

(Nussbaum, M 2000, p.302-303)

In the following arguments which hope to develop a critical approach to international affairs, it is important in any philosophical rationale that there are elements in a political philosophy which focus on the interests of women. There are many people all over the world who are oppressed. Many of these are men but by far the greatest number are women. The capabilities approach has a direct link in this thesis to the existential because like the existential theory developed in this project it emphasises what individuals can do for themselves, for each other and their communities. Nussbaum's approach is rooted in a kind of existential praxis which wants to get things done in the interests of self realisation and citizenship. Her thesis is not only connected to the idea of the parochial and the regional, it has implications for the democratic and universal empowerment in global terms. There is definitely something of the 'think globally and act locally in her thinking'. The praxis dimension of her thinking is emphatically and concretely embodied in:

"We want to plant fruit trees in front of our houses."

"We want to plant a herbal medicine shop."

"We build our house ourselves."

"We want to cultivate Banjar lands."

"We want to register our Sangham."

"We want to travel. We want to see our offices in Hyderabad."

"We want our school to run better."

"Our Sangham should become big. We want more women to join us."

"We want to hold meetings at the Mandal [i.e. regional] level."

"Our children need a better life than us. They should learn new things."

(Nussbaum, M 2000, p.302-303)

Nussbaum's capabilities approach will be referred to from time to time throughout a variety of scenarios. Her ideas on democracy, apropos of the capabilities approach, ask all sorts of challenging questions on the unrealised potential of so many women throughout the world. Her belief in the democratic empowerment of women to play a constructive role in their lives and in their communities is a powerful message to all who believe in her cosmopolitan views of human rights and global citizenship. Nussbaum's thinking and philosophy is holistic and highly compatible with the existential emphasis on choice, freedom and responsibility that is embedded in facilitative pedagogy. It is important that IB students who are often taught and learn in privileged environments become aware of the intellectual riches of the ideas of Nussbaum and Sen (Nussbaum, 1997, 2000) (Sen 1981, 1999, 2002). In so doing they will explore how a lack of democracy can contribute to the oppression and alienation of millions of women in the developing world.

(5) The existential approach to facilitation pedagogy delivered in Chapter Three deals with the issues of student decision making in the context of the moral and political responsibilities of IB student analysers so I will not pre-empt these concerns here. However, what I hope the reader gleans from this brief section here is that the integrity of phenomenological and the 'multiple narratives' approaches can place IB student analysers in a strong position to make normative judgements with greater honesty, reliability, accuracy and integrity. In that sense I hope my reader can realise that a phenomenological approach to facilitation pedagogy has a good chance of ensuring that students are more unbiased, more empathetic, more open and therefore more moral in their analytical approaches.

How a phenomenological approach which is mindful of the concerns of the IB Learner Profile can help in the shaping and construction of facilitation pedagogy

If one looks at the IB Learner Profile which is summarised in the previous chapter, one can identify and recognise that the IB really wants the kind of facilitation pedagogy which enables and empowers IB students to become certain kinds of independent learners. Throughout the Learner Profile there seem to be the overarching aims of internationalism, intellectual and moral independence, empathy for the concerns of others and critical thinking. The aim of internationalism is itself very far reaching in that it would be difficult to imagine an internationally minded IB student

who was not tolerant, unprejudiced and interested in social and political justice. Further, it would be difficult also to imagine a well rounded IB student who was absorbed by the spirit of CAS and TOK who did not believe that it was one of her missions in life to be a peacemaker rather than being indifferent or a negative and destructive troublemaker. All these considerations traverse the IB Learner Profile and multiple other areas of the IB curriculum.

A phenomenological approach which is also a ‘multiple narratives’ approach has clearly got something to offer a facilitation pedagogy which is based on the IB Learner Profile. Briefly I will suggest where a relevant and meaningful connection between phenomenology and the ‘multiple narratives’ approach on the one hand and the IB Learner Profile and facilitation Pedagogy might lie.

A phenomenological approach can offer direction to many of the aims in the IB Learner Profile. I deliver a few examples in the following:

(1) With special reference to the IB aim that IB students can become ‘inquirers’ who acquire the necessary skills to become active and independent learners, the phenomenological and the ‘multiple narratives’ approaches can steer students in the right direction in international affairs scenarios by helping them to understand that international affairs scenarios or conflicts or peace and reconciliation initiatives can only be understood if the inquirer is prepared to explore, research and describe the ‘lived experiences’ of all the participants in a scenario. The phenomenological approach can help IB students to ensure that their enquiries are connected to the ‘multiple narratives’ of scenarios and as such constitute a comprehensive approach (See IB Learner Profile 1).

(2) The phenomenological approach to international affairs emphasises a holistic approach to knowledge and would encourage students to recognise that they can draw on the varieties of knowledge which can be gleaned about the ‘lived-experiences’ of individuals through disciplines such as history, geography, human rights, political theory, philosophy, literature, TOK, CAS, religion, politics and numerous other ‘Individuals and Societies’ subjects which can give the students greater in-depth knowledge and understanding of the multiple ‘lived experiences’ and ‘narratives’ of

participants in international affairs scenarios. The phenomenological and the ‘multiple narratives’ approach can ensure that the students ‘acquire in-depth knowledge and understanding across a broad and balanced range of disciplines’ (See IB Learner Profile 2).

(3) Apropos of the application of critical and creative thinking skills, the students will recognise from a phenomenological perspective that they will only make reasoned and ethical decisions once they have a clear idea of what all the participants in an international affairs scenario think. What has emerged above is that the phenomenological approach, because it emphasises a responsible exploration of all the ‘narratives’ in an international affairs scenario, places the students in a stronger and more authoritative position to make responsible ethical decisions. More about this will be explored under the heading of the existential approach towards facilitation pedagogy in Chapter Three (See IB Learner Profile 3).

(4) Regarding the principle of communication in the IB Learner Profile it is important to recognise that the phenomenological approach has its place in this thesis because it is intended to enable students to share more intelligently and more respectfully and more internationally about the ‘multiple narratives’ in international affairs scenarios. The international affairs teacher who also believes in facilitation will recognise that students need to learn from each other. This means that they need also to be engaged in mutual projects and therefore learning from the ‘lived experiences’ of Palestinian or Israeli students who are on the IB programme with them. The IB student who is also a phenomenologist will recognise that phenomenological literature is full of hermeneutic understandings which emphasise the importance of dialogue, respect and communication. Bearing this in mind, the phenomenologist is someone who will look to the significance of communication or the successes or failures in communication when she describes certain phenomena in international affairs scenarios (See IB Learner Profile 4).

(5) Apropos of the IB Learner Profile’s emphasis on the students’ acting ‘with integrity and honesty, with a strong sense of fairness, justice and respect for the dignity of the individual, groups and communities’, I believe that the phenomenological approach to facilitation pedagogy will serve the students well. I

can say this because both the phenomenological and the 'multiple narratives' approach will provide the students with reliable and authoritative understandings of the 'lived experiences' of individuals and also of their lives in various groups and communities. This latter distinction is an important one to make because there is a danger that the lives of individuals can be spoken of in generalities or abstractions which are often connected to summaries of what groups and communities think and feel about issues. It is quite clear that one cannot talk about either Israelis or Palestinians in this way. The main point however on the matter of truth and integrity must not be lost here. I say this because I believe IB students of international affairs scenarios will be better equipped to deal with matters honestly and truthfully if they are as well informed about the 'lived experiences' of peoples' lives as they ought to be. In this sense phenomenology can be a servant of the truth (See IB Learner Profile 5).

(6) I have so far dealt with a number of IB Learner Profile aims which if realised will enable the IB student analysers to be better internationalists and better analysers of international affairs scenarios. Further to this, it is important in the context of the construction of my facilitation pedagogy that the phenomenological approach can in fact bolster and enrich and add something to the profound aims of the IB Learner Profile. I believe that teacher facilitators who have a better understanding of phenomenology in the context of the imperatives or aims of the IB Learner Profile will needless to say make more profound facilitators. Good facilitation will ensure that students who approach international affairs from an IB Learner Profile perspective which is given direction by the phenomenological approach will be in a better position to talk with more authority about international affairs scenarios.

The remaining IB Learner Profile aims which I have not discussed are highly compatible with the phenomenological approach. A phenomenological approach is quite clearly an open-minded, caring, risk-taking, balanced and reflective approach. There is nothing in my phenomenological approach so far developed that flies in the face of these aims but it would also be fair to say that there is a certain amount of overlap between these aims and the ones I have already subjected to phenomenological scrutiny above (See IB Learner Profile 6,7,8,9 & 10). In the



interests of brevity I will not explore the compatibility between the phenomenological and these remaining aims of the IB Learner Profile.

In conclusion to this section I need to mention that a phenomenological approach towards facilitation pedagogy which is rooted in the above concerns will certainly help teachers and students to collaborate and cooperate with each other in such a way that they might be better persons and better internationalists. In so far as they attain these aims they will of course also make better analysers of international affairs scenarios (Taken from IB Learner Profile points 6, 7, 8, 9 & 10 in the International Baccalaureate Organisation Online Curriculum Centre, March 2006)

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Some practical schooling concerns for a facilitative pedagogy for international affairs on the IB curriculum

In schooling there are many reasons why teachers in an era of human rights, cosmopolitanism, the capabilities approach, global citizenship and international education should want to promote the idea of the facilitative or the subjective. I believe the case for the facilitative needs to be argued for the following reasons:

(1) School Governors, Principals, Heads of Departments and teachers have many responsibilities with which to contend but ultimately they are responsible for individual students. Without entering into too lengthy a description which might lose sight of a facilitative argument, the ‘self-development’ of the student would be an important consideration in the minds of many who believe that the intellectual independence and personal autonomy of individual students should be an important consideration in good teaching (See 1 of IB Learner Profile). Inspectors of education from OFSTED and other inspectorates have certainly wanted to know how the teachers make allowances for differentiation in their teaching. They often want to know what kind of provision there is in all the subject areas for all the students. They tell us that according to our records it is clear what the needs of the group are but what they also want to know is what we are doing for the individual students. The self-development of the individual students never seems to escape their attention. By self-development they imply certain considerations which might include autonomy, intellectual independence and critical thinking. It is partly but not exclusively against this background that I want to promote the idea that good facilitative teaching is

therefore enabling and empowering teaching. Further, it is the kind of teaching which insists that students equip themselves with a vast array of skills which might ensure that they can become quite adept at independently researching, understanding and thinking critically about international affairs scenarios (Greene 1986, 1988) (Denton 1974) (Kneller 1964) (Morris 1966) (Vandenberg 1971) (See 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 & 10 of IB Learner Profile).

(2) Against this background, a good facilitative approach, especially at IB Diploma level, will be consultative when doing international affairs projects. The purpose of this consultative approach would be to find what groups of students want but more importantly what individual students want. This in terms of an international affairs syllabus might mean the following:

(a) Do individual students have the freedom to choose themes and topics which are part of the accreditation process? Students might for example come from China or Iran or the UK but does the syllabus design offer them the opportunity to research and write about their immediate international affairs concerns in their country or countries they are interested in? Further, does the examination process allow the individual student the opportunities to do oral work and written work and extended essays in subjects, topics, themes or scenarios in which they are really interested (See 6 & 10 of IB Learner Profile)?

(b) Against the background of the above a facilitative approach towards international affairs education would imply that the syllabus designers would come up with a syllabus and a course guide which would allow for a substantial degree of individual freedom for both teachers and students to negotiate the following:

- (i) The choice of topics which might be done
- (ii) How much time will be spent on the topic
- (iii) How essay topic titles may be configured and agreed
- (v) Flexibility on deadlines
- (vi) Grading of essays which is explained in great detail and which is relevant to critical thinking considerations in matters of quality of ideas, coherence, originality, other content, presentation and language

- (vii) Students might be entitled to resubmit work because the initial grading process was helpful and informative to the point where the student now believes that she has a better understanding of a topic which was apparently not as clearly understood in the first instance.
- (viii) Does the way the teacher configures and presents the academic challenges on the course create opportunities for the students to become independent and autonomous thinkers in the area of international affairs?
- (ix) That the individual students on the international affairs programme might have opportunities to play an empowering and enabling role in the delivery of the programme (Klooster 2001) (Rogers 1983) (See all the aims of IB Learner Profile).

(3) Further to these points above, it is important in an international affairs programme which is rooted in facilitative philosophy that the teaching process is empowering and enabling in such a way that the individual student might be able to say something like this after they have completed the course:

I enjoyed this course immensely because I felt the teachers were committed to getting the students involved. Most of the students felt they were free to not only give talks but they were also encouraged to lead seminars and choose and select and present video recordings and DVD materials on topics they had chosen. Obviously the teachers managed and taught areas of their expertise but even here the individual students were invited to intervene, direct and shape developments. The international affairs teaching team had a facilitative approach which meant that they not only wanted us to work on and present our own topics, they also wanted us to make suggestions and help design courses on really important topics that I personally did not know much about. For example I would just like to mention how I noticed that we were encouraged to be involved in mainly teacher led or organised topics on (a) Global Citizenship and Human Rights in international affairs (b) Human rights in China and South Africa (c) The war in Iraq (d) The multiple conflicts in the Middle East and (e) propaganda, bias and indoctrination in international affairs education [See Chapters Four, Five, Six and Seven].

Obviously there were diverse opinions among the student body but Mrs Smith was always keen to get her brightest and most confident students to explore different conceptions of global citizenship and human rights and cosmopolitanism before the course began. (By the way, she was also good at building the confidence of the less able students who were also interested. On the other hand, she knew how to shake up the lazy and the indifferent by appealing to what they as individuals had to offer the course.) Mrs Smith always challenged us to 'exist', that is, 'to get out of ourselves' and come up with interesting scenarios and good critical thinking skills. She often spoke about the existential as not only being about theory but also about praxis. Her

brand of existentialism was not just about thinking critically about the world but also about changing and improving the world [See Chapter Three for an elaboration of the existential].

She really knew her stuff but she didn't have to prove it by standing up in front and talking down at us. I know lecturers often don't talk down at their audiences but she explained that if she monopolized all the sound bites or did all the steering of arguments she would end up by dominating the course. The last thing she wanted was to be seen to be lecturing to us. She really could lecture and during the course she really gave us at least ten very competent lectures which were backed up by power point, DVD's, diagrams, statistics and very persuasive but open-ended arguments. But her lectures were scene-setting scenarios; they were also connected to how we might become involved in the development and understanding of scenarios as they developed in the relevant sessions on a specific topic. Her pedagogy was inextricably linked to the content of her lectures so that meant that over a period of an hour she might stop every ten minutes to challenge us on what she had been saying. She certainly used the students to help her shape her lectures. Through doing international affairs scenarios we were also privy to her philosophy of education or her facilitative pedagogy as she called it. I was lucky because she was also my Theory of Knowledge (TOK) teacher so I really had the benefit of a more comprehensive education of her understanding of the existential and the phenomenological. It helped me understand what autonomy and intellectual independence in learning about international affairs meant.

On the matter of Human Rights in China and South Africa, we were presented with really challenging guest speakers. Through her South African connections she managed to recruit outside speakers who had lived through the Apartheid era and who had been imprisoned by and who had obviously survived the system. There was also someone who used to support Apartheid but no longer did and there was also someone who focused on all the disasters rather than the achievements of the new South Africa. The latter contribution was balanced by more optimistic contributions from a South African student who attended our school. Apropos of China, she did the college a favour because we have a considerable number of students who are the children of the emerging elite in China. Mrs Smith invited a Professor of Chinese Studies from Oxford University who was also a dissident at the time of Tiananmen Square. He was impressive because he not only focused on injustices in China but also on how difficult it is and is going to be for the present leadership to lead China in the years to come. He made the claim that the new China could not continue to grow economically without the leadership putting more democratic and more human rights based frameworks in place. He also postulated that the new wealthy citizens would need democracy and justice to protect their wealth. This had an ominous ring to it.

From both a facilitative and an existential point of view this was quite a riveting experience but it also made us realise how complex international affairs is as a subject. It made us also realise that a good international affairs programme would introduce us to people who had been or were dissidents, political actors, agents, and militants against but also supporters of regimes. We also had the opportunity to talk to these people afterwards and this gave us a sense of the dilemmas and conflicts facing these individuals on the ground. This meant our getting to know what they thought their duties were and how they defined their actions not merely in terms of their duties

but also in terms of the consequences of their actions for themselves, their families and their friends and the society as a whole. Through these talks we realised that there were many in international affairs scenarios that had made huge sacrifices and paid a heavy price for their commitments and their actions. Mrs Smith encouraged us to read political biographies and autobiographies as a good way to understanding highly personalised accounts of complex 'international affairs' narratives.

Mrs Smith encouraged us to prepare well for guest speakers and this meant that we had already explored the territory to be covered but that we were well prepared for the questioning process and genuine dialogue afterwards. She of course allowed the students to host the visitors and communicate with them beforehand and set things up in a favourable way. Mrs Smith however seemed to get more pleasure out of seeing the students play this role. Her facilitative pedagogy seemed to be part of her political and her general educational philosophy. I remember her once saying at the beginning of the course:

'This is an international school. We are populated by students from all five continents and the last thing we need is for me to be doing all the talking, organising, researching, opinion forming and conferencing. On a course like this we want to benefit from the participation and involvement of all the students. We want the Jordanians, the Iraqis, and the USA students, the British, the Spanish, the Russians, the Chinese, the Algerians, the Central and Southern Africans and all the others to play a role not only in learning but also in managing, facilitating and conferencing. Learning about politics and international affairs is not just about thinking, understanding and learning about all that's in the syllabus, it is also about becoming involved, becoming politicised, and becoming confrontational. She then jokingly said, 'As long as you do not become confrontational with me'. This was quite a telling point because she invited challenges and she also challenged us. There was no space for complacency in her classes. She explained her pedagogy as an existential pedagogy which she claimed was intended to not only help us to make sense of international affairs as an academic field of study but also to make sense of our lives and the lives of others in an age of economic globalization. She said the existential phenomenological approach was the best approach for the course because it emphasised not the needs of the international affairs class or international affairs education but rather the needs of individual students. She believed that international affairs should be a compulsory subject on the IB curriculum because it could help students become more tolerant, empathetic and aware of the cultural, economic, social and political complexities of the world we inhabited. Further, by placing the students rather than herself at the heart of the international affairs classes she also believed that there was little chance that she might be accused of promoting her own brand of bias, propaganda and indoctrination.

She felt the best way to make the course a success was to get as many individuals involved as possible. By the time a specific topic was introduced to the year group as a whole, large numbers of students had already explored its main themes. I can say this because Mrs Smith had signposted the syllabus well in advance and she had invited a number of us to research the intellectual diversity of views, opinions, lobbies, religious, ecological, economic, international law, philosophical and other concerns which were connected to human rights and global citizenship priorities

(Greene 1986, 1988) (Denton 1974)(Kneller 1964) (Morris 1966) (Rogers 1983) (Vandenberg 1971) (See 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 & 10 of IB Learner Profile).

Needless to say, the above scenario is not a fantasy. It has been constructed against the background of years of experience as an international affairs teacher on the IB. It is rooted in messages that have been sent to me by students in our many dialogues on who should do what in our next global issues or international affairs class. As a teacher I am always reminded of how enjoyable students can find a topic if they are in charge of both the organisational and the academic developments connected to it. Further, the construction above is highly compatible with not only the real world of my global issues / international affairs classes but also with the existential and phenomenological underpinnings of my facilitation pedagogy (See all aims of IB Learner Profile and the contents of Chapter Three).

At this stage in 2007 there is no syllabus or compulsory programme in international affairs on the International Baccalaureate programme. It would be comforting to think that, if the IBO were ever to see its way clear to designing and implementing an international affairs programme, the relevant committee might bear some of the above considerations in mind. As already mentioned this argument will be properly initiated, developed and concluded in Chapter Eight.

An added perspective of the role of the teacher facilitator in international affairs education

Further to the developments above a facilitative pedagogy hopes to inspire leadership in students in such a way that facilitators are mindful of the following:

A leader is best
When people barely know he exists,
Not so good when people obey and acclaim him,
Worst when they despise him.
But of a good leader, who talks little,
When his work is done his aim is fulfilled,
They will all say "We did this ourselves."

(Bynner, in Rogers, C 1983 p.145)

If the leader facilitators believe in the freedom outlined so far, they are going to want their students as existential subjects to be and feel free and creative. They will

encourage their students to express themselves and to work out solutions to their problems in as inventive and creative a way as might be possible. These very facts by their implication suggest that the facilitator is not going to adopt a dominant teacher-centred lecturing style of teaching. Occasional authoritative lectures which invite questions and include student participation in a comprehensive way can only be beneficial to the International Affairs class. Good lecturers / facilitators connect their lectures to the students' sense of autonomy by encouraging them to search for information independently or in groups and also by getting them to return to a plenary situation with their findings (Savin-Baden 2003). It might mean they will share these findings with each other as part of some kind of agreed delegation where all the participants including the facilitator might be looking for knowledge which is sifted through, analysed and scanned by the individuals who are working co-operatively towards some kind of consensus or truth. My brand of facilitative pedagogy is not solipsistic and therefore the subjectivity which is at the centre of concerns in this model does not constitute individuals going it alone. It might mean in certain situations in the learning process they might work independently but it would also mean they probably would be working in international and cross-cultural groups on mutually agreed assignments. Towards the end of their independent research projects they would invariably meet up to share knowledge, understandings, insights, intuitions, interpretations, facts and action plans with their peers. During this entire process, the facilitators' roles will vary (Cameron 2001) (Heron 1993, 1999) (Hunter 1996) (Townsend 1999). They will play mainly an enabling role which will mean they will be available as a resource that can be consulted if the students need their help. But more pertinently, this approach will mean that in certain instances, the expertise of certain individual students empowers them to be more assertive. It also allows them to play a supportive role in that they can become enablers of others in the learning process. The facilitator is someone who would not want to be lecturing for any great length of time to their students because it sends the wrong message. It might send a message which says, "I am the authority and the boss and if you listen to me you can discover the truth." Lecturing which is connected to the brand of facilitation promoted in this thesis is I believe acceptable lecturing because it is fully integrated with a learning process where the student as learner and researcher and analyser and decision maker is centre stage.

To sum up, a facilitator plays a somewhat different role to the traditional teacher. This understanding is best summarised in the following:

The attitudes of the teacher and the facilitator are also at different poles. Traditional teaching, no matter how disguised, is based essentially on the mug-and-jug theory. The teacher asks himself, "How can I make the mug hold still while I fill it from the jug with these facts which the curriculum planners and I regard as valuable?" The attitude of the facilitator has almost entirely to do with climate, "How can I create a psychological climate in which the child will be free to be curious, will be free to make mistakes, will feel free to learn from the environment, from fellow students, from me, from experience?

How can I help him recapture the excitement of learning that was natural in infancy?"

(Rogers 1983, p.136)

One of the most important considerations of a facilitative pedagogy which is attempting to promote International Affairs education on the IB would be to ensure that both teachers and students are equally mindful and respectful of the religious, cultural, national, linguistic and philosophical identities and differences of the students with whom they are interacting. Sometimes this is more easily said than done.

There is a danger that teachers of International Affairs can barge students into discussion scenarios on complex International Affairs topics without getting them first to identify the intellectual or ideological or moral or religious or political differences that exist in their forums (See Chapter Three). Further, as this thesis is intended to be a contribution to the development of a facilitation pedagogy for International Affairs narratives it would be naïve not to prioritise the 'multiple narratives' of individual students who engage in these International Affairs analyses (Cobley 2001) (McDrury 2003) (Sartre 1948). These 'narratives' will inevitably impact on the way that students do their analyses so it would be philosophically unsound for them not to focus on the connection between their values as exploring subjects and the kind of International Affairs analyses that they might be doing. These analyses themselves after all end up as having their own 'narrative' content too. Before proceeding, it is important to remind the reader that the idea of 'narrative' in this thesis is used in a minimalist way and is connected to the values, culture, life, ideological positions, experiences, achievements and failures of an individual. The teaching of English literature, I have

discovered, is often a good way of heightening an awareness of the importance of ‘narrative’ in the real world. ‘Narrative’ is a window into understanding the kind of individual we are dealing with and, needless to say, is connected to the existential, phenomenological and other philosophical elements which I use throughout the thesis.

The role of the facilitator in the context of the philosophy and aims of facilitation

The role of the facilitator and the aims of facilitation as opposed to the aims of the IB curriculum need to be clarified. The reader will recognise that the aims of the facilitator and how they impact on her role pervade the thesis from beginning to end. A clarification of the aims of facilitation is however necessary at this stage and will help focus the mind of the reader. The facilitator aims to place the IB student at the centre of the analyses of International Affairs scenarios. The main aim of facilitation therefore is to empower the student to take the initiative to explore the ‘multiple narratives’ of the International Affairs scenarios (Greene 1986, 1988) (Denton 1974) (Kneller 1964) (Morris 1966) (Rogers 1983) (Vandenberg 1971) (& See 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 & 10 of IB Learner Profile). This empowerment in effect means a number of things which include the following:

(1) The student needs to acquire the skills to research and accurately summarise evidence and multiple interpretations of the ‘multiple narratives’ that abound in a particular International Affairs scenario. If for example, a teacher were trying to get her students to understand the problems of modern day South Africa, her sense of history might dictate that her students explore the ‘multiple narratives’ that existed in the Apartheid era. This might also mean that she would get them to explore a host of ‘narratives’ which might include the complexities, collaborations and divisions that existed in Afrikaner Nationalism and Black Nationalism. In the context of Afrikaner Nationalism this might mean an exploration and focus on the divisions between ‘the Verligtes’ (the Enlightened Ones) and ‘the Verkrampes’ (the Right Wing Arch Conservatives). It was indeed the eventually more ‘Verligte’ P.W. Botha and F.W. De Klerk that moved in the direction of negotiations with Nelson Mandela and his ANC. The conflicting ‘narratives’ of individuals and leaders in organisations like the PAC, the ANC, the Bantustans (The Homelands), Inkatha, The United Democratic Front (UDF) and others also merit detailed and comprehensive treatment. What is

mentioned here is the tip of the iceberg. However, it is enough for the reader to realise that the facilitator is someone who wants her students to have an academically comprehensive approach to the issues facing them. Besides the 'narratives' already alluded to, she will definitely want her students to explore the 'narratives' of the opponents and the supporters of Apartheid South Africa. This will no doubt include those opponents and supporters who were in South Africa, in the UN, in the international trade unions, multi-nationals and the international banks. In the interests of a comprehensive approach, one needs to get the students to recognise that policies such as constructive engagement with South Africa which were promoted by many USA leaders like Chester Crocker and European leaders like Mrs Thatcher kept Apartheid going. Their support could have been connected to economic self interest or a genuine belief that they did not know how else to deal with South Africa. There are some who might say that these leaders helped sustain and prolong Apartheid because of their ongoing support for it. The 'narratives' of these critics might reflect that leaders like Crocker, Reagan and Thatcher were more concerned with economic self interest rather than political justice. Other narratives might say that at the height of the Cold War the gold, diamonds, plutonium, uranium, manganese and vanadium were a prize that the Soviet Union was after and that the West would never want to seem to be supporting an organisation like the ANC with its Soviet Union and other communist links. This 'narrative' the students might discover was perhaps false or distorted because it overemphasised the communist links of the ANC and underplays the injustices of the Apartheid system.

South Africa is used as a case in point not because this thesis is about South Africa but rather because it is about the facilitation of IB students understanding the 'multiple narratives' of numerous International Affairs scenarios. The same approach should apply to human rights themes in South Africa and China, the war in Iraq, the Israel / Palestine Question and how US Foreign Policy under John Bolton in 2006 impacted on the UN. The 'multiple narratives' which are central concerns to these and other themes are central concerns of the facilitator and her students. The South African examples above point the way forward for the other scenarios.

Against the background of this point above I have had readers of my thesis from time to time say things like, 'Are all the narratives on an equal footing?' They have further

added, 'Can one discriminate between them?' My answer to this is simple and clear and includes a metaphor. I believe that 'International Affairs' classes or courses should function like parliaments. Just as all the parties in the UK House of Commons debate all the relevant issues and concerns before evaluating considerations and coming to a decision, so too should groups of IB students debate the 'multiple narratives' of political scenarios before arriving at their own interpretations and judgements. Further, this is after all a thesis which attempts to encourage the students to use a comprehensive philosophical approach in their evaluation of 'narratives'. Finally, it needs to be mentioned however that no philosophical approach will guarantee that the students will necessarily arrive at the right levels of discernment or discrimination or understanding on any narratives. One can only hope and have faith that if one employs the right approach, then the students will be mature enough to deal with the intellectual challenges which face them.

(2) Besides a comprehensive approach towards the evidence and the interpretations of the 'multiple narratives' the facilitator will like her students to be philosophically profound in their approaches to International Affairs scenarios. This will mean that she will not only be concerned about the 'narratives' but also about emphasising a variety of philosophical approaches to the interpretations of all the relevant 'narratives'. This means that one of the important aims of a facilitative philosophy of education is that the facilitator gets her students to realise the importance of prioritising philosophical methodology in the way they go about their evidence collecting, summarising and interpreting.

(3) One of the aims of the role of the facilitator is to get her students to understand the importance of having an understanding of different theories of knowledge so they can have a better grasp of what they are doing when they are researching, studying, writing papers and discussing International Affairs scenarios. In the context of my existential phenomenology developed in the thesis this means that priority ought to be given to the students being pointed in the direction of a practical philosophical approach which they can use, develop and even change as they see fit.

(4) Personal autonomy as a learner also implies that the students develop the confidence to argue their case intelligently. This confidence will be rooted in the

student realising that she has the skills to explore and summarise and interpret ‘narratives’ in global politics in such a way that she feels that she can comment with reasonable authority on what is good or bad or right and wrong or just or unjust or legal or illegal in International Affairs scenarios. Personal autonomy in this sense implies personal responsibility and that of course implies that it is the role of the facilitator as educator to empower the student to get on with their own analyses of International Affairs scenarios in such a way that the teacher is just a resource to be consulted if need be.

(5) Some might say that one of the most comprehensive aims of the facilitator is to make the students as independent of the teachers as it is possible for them to be. In the context of classroom scenarios in International Affairs contexts this can be done in many ways which might include the following:

(a) Encouraging students to lead seminars and do oral presentations based on independent research which is based on the explorations of multiple sources and multiple interpretations of International Affairs scenarios.

(b) Getting the students to explore the value of different philosophical elements in their explorations and analyses of International Affairs scenarios. Further to this it will be important that the facilitator points the students in the right direction of International Affairs, politics, human rights, the capabilities approach, global citizenship and other relevant International Affairs literature so that they can become familiar with the terminology, concepts, the expertise and the classic texts which populate the discipline. In the context of my philosophical approach this will mean that the students will learn the relevance of the existential, phenomenological, the ‘narrative’, ‘multiple narratives’, human rights, capabilities and other approaches to analysing International Affairs scenarios.

(c) The role of the facilitator is extremely important in terms of the above because through exposure to the approach proposed here the students will hopefully learn and acquire certain knowledge and skills which they will be able to apply in certain International Affairs scenarios. The value of the knowledge and skills will become clearer to the students while and when they employ the different elements in their own

way in specific scenarios. More important however, is that the students grow intellectually through their very enterprises and that they develop their own modifications and developments of the philosophical approach proposed here. What of course will be even better is that they develop their own philosophical and analytical instruments which will be ongoing and developing in their life long education.

(d) Apropos of intellectual independence I have included in Appendix Two an extended example of a project on the Arab / Israeli Question. This contribution illustrates how the role of the facilitator can best fulfil the aims of facilitation. The case reported on here is made for handing over the responsibility of an entire conference to the students. This delegation implies the facilitation of the teaching and learning and the management and evaluation of the conference. In a sense this example reflects facilitation as the comprehensive empowerment of the students in International Affairs education (Bonnet & Cuypers 2003) (Buber 1947) (Halabi 2000) (Rogers 1989) (Sartre 1948) (Sartre 1948) (Vandenberg 1991, 1997) (Van Manen 1997) (See 1-10 of IB Learner Profile).

Chapter Three

An existential approach to facilitation pedagogy for international affairs education on the IB

Introduction

It is in interests of convenience and organisation and understanding that I separated the phenomenological from the existential in Chapters Two and Three. This division of labour I believe has served the interests of the thesis well. In the same way as I illustrated how a phenomenological approach can enhance a facilitation pedagogy for international affairs education on the IB I believe that an existential approach is central to a sound facilitation pedagogy for international affairs education. The concerns of both these chapters serve the application of my overall existential phenomenological approach in the case studies throughout the thesis.

Both the phenomenological and the existential approaches focus on the theme of ‘subjectivity’ throughout the thesis. However while the focus in the phenomenological approach is on the ‘lived-experiences’ and the ‘multiple narratives’ of participants in international affairs scenarios, the existential approach in this chapter emphasises IB learner understandings of responsibility, choice, freedom, dialogue and decision making in the case studies of international affairs scenarios. These understandings could pertain to the student’s own personal choices or her understandings of how others in international affairs scenarios might perceive their own responsibility and decision making. Further, at the end of this chapter, I will provide the reader with my existential phenomenological justification for a case study approach for a compulsory international affairs project on the IB curriculum. This will provide the reader with a brief philosophical rationale for understanding the value of the case study approach for international affairs on the IB.

In the interest of maintaining continuity between Chapter One, Two and Three it is important to recognise that the value of the existential phenomenological approach to facilitation pedagogy inheres in the fact that both the phenomenological and the existential are intended to provide a more profound framework for a facilitation

pedagogy for international affairs on a curriculum which is embedded with values which include international cooperation, peace and reconciliation, social justice and an awareness of the importance of toleration, compassion and understanding. There are numerous other normative considerations in the IB Learner Profile and other areas of the IB curriculum but the reader will find throughout the thesis that I quite frequently refer to the normative value of the universal declaration of human rights, the capabilities approach and global citizenship concerns. One can imagine that none of these three concerns is incompatible with the idealism implicit in the ethical and political concerns of the TOK programme which I have already alluded to in Chapter One and Chapter Two.

It is against the background of the values which inhere in the curriculum of the International Baccalaureate that the existential becomes important. It becomes important because the IB Learner Profile which is supposed to traverse every concern across the IB Diploma requires that IB students make decisions on the basis of integrity and principle. It is not as if IB students are in some kind of relativistic or value free vacuum when they engage in reflections and decision making on international affairs scenarios. Without wishing to repeat the ethical or political underpinnings presented in Chapter One and Chapter Two it is important to recognise that moral or ethical or political decisions that IB students might make in international schools always have to consider the moral values implicit in the aims of the IB curriculum before reaching a decision. There is a sense in which these values are fundamental because they are embedded in most mission statements of the IB schools which potential IB students think about and sign up to when they register with them.

A brief focus on why the existential is important in this thesis

As will be seen in the arguments that follow there are a number of reasons as to why I have employed the existential or existential philosophy throughout this thesis (Denton 1974) (Greene 1986, 1988)(Kneller 1964) (Morris 1966) (Vandenberg 1971) (See 1, 2,3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 & 10 of IB Learner Profile). In fairness to the reader I think I can provide fairly concise reasons as to why I have found the ‘existential’ a useful framework for critical thinking in International Affairs analyses on the International Baccalaureate curriculum. I started this line of argument in the previous chapter but

the idea of the existential and its importance need to be more deeply developed here. I intend to put my own stamp on it because it is after all a concept with rich and diverse ramifications.

(1) The existential is highly compatible with the multi-cultural, multi-ethnic, multi-national and multi-faith realities which we can find in an International Baccalaureate environment. I say this because the existential focuses not on what the college or school or religion or the nationality are about but rather more on what this particular student in front of you is all about. If this is the priority of the existential, I believe it will serve the aims of facilitation pedagogy well.

(2) This project has deep moral concerns which have profound implications for the way an individual might analyse an International Affairs scenario. The existential philosophy implicit in my arguments emphasises the importance of the specific student's 'duty' to do justice to the analyses she does. This means that at the heart of these analyses, the evidence collecting, summarising, interpretation and evaluation and the judgement of the student is inextricably wound up with her perception of her duty to think and act with integrity in these matters. This is quite obviously not a solipsistic statement. It is rather a statement which places the individual student and her peers at the heart of analyses which, if allowed, can be overwhelmed by other priorities which include history, multiple histories, objectivity, other subjectivities, inter-subjectivity and the multiple interpretations of documents such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (see Sections 1, 2 & 3 in Appendix One). Such analyses, which are often burdened with much detail and complex philosophical and legal arguments, highlight the responsibility of the individual. Existential philosophy is adequate to the task of also emphasising the responsibility of the individual (Sartre 1948). The responsible analyser of International Affairs scenarios realises that her task is not a trivial one. Her use of the phenomenological approach enables her to realise that what she is doing requires philosophical rigour, sincerity and integrity.

(3) Highly important, necessary and essential to a proper apprehension of the idea of duty in existential terms is the idea of consequences. When a student decides that it is her duty to go on militant march for a 'Free Palestine' she sends a message to many people as to how she feels about the injustice in that scenario. In so doing she might

alienate her Jewish or pro-Israeli friends or peers and that might be painful to her. She will realise that her choices in certain contexts might have negative consequences for her. She will also realise that in the world of politics things can be tough and stressful because her choices and their consequences will challenge the very fibre of her personality and her character. The reality of her life as a moral being who acts with integrity will become increasingly important to her because she knows that she will have to defend and explain her actions to those around her (See IB Learner Profile 5).

(4) In existential terms this highlights the idea of commitment and the anguish that can accompany it. Commitment in existential terms is not a soft or woolly or vague term; it is rather a hard term which connects with the world of moral principles (Cooper 1990) (Denton 1974) (Sartre 1948). Commitment in the existential sense of International Affairs analyses implies moral integrity in that you decide to choose between what you might consider to be good or bad or right or wrong or just or unjust or legal or illegal. Students who think existentially about these matters in International Affairs know how serious and anxiety ridden International Affairs decision making can be. They just have to look at how Tony Blair's popularity at home and abroad declined in the wake of the coalition occupation, the antiwar marches and the destructive power of the insurgency in Iraq (IB Learner Profile 2, 7 & 8).

(5) In existential terms 'choice' is a powerful concept because it highlights the freedom of the individual to make her own choices according to her own interpretation of her principles which will be rooted in her conscience but also in the values connected to her political, social, cultural and religious identity (Sartre 1948). The existential as it is portrayed and defined here is most appropriate to international school settings because it highlights the importance of norms but it leaves the definition and interpretation of those principles and norms up to the individual concerned. This is not to say that in existential terms that there are no universal values or objective norms. The existential emphasis reminds us that what is more important is the individual's interpretation of the norms in a concrete International Affairs situation.

(6) Finally, an existential emphasis is highly compatible with the critical thinking in this thesis. The critical thinker who thinks about good or bad or right or wrong or

just or unjust or legal or illegal in International Affairs scenarios has to come to terms with her involvements. This means that she has to understand her duties clearly so that she can make the best choices and also accept responsibility for her interpretations, decision making and the consequences of her choices and actions. What is certain about both critical thinking and existential thinking is that they are both rooted in the individual's ideas of freedom and responsibility (Winch 2006). These ideas will become more relevant and evident throughout the development of the ensuing arguments.

A more elaborate development of the importance of the existential

Existentialists or existential commentators such as Sartre, Buber, Marcel, Ricoeur and many others focus on the reverence or respect one should have for persons (Buber 1947) (Marcel 1950, 1951) (Ricoeur 1967) (Sartre 1948). In some instances this is articulated as a respect for the subjectivity of the other or a kind of reverence for the 'I-Thou' relationship. Whatever the formulation, the existential has implications for the freedom and autonomy of individual students. So, throughout the development of this chapter, the freedom of the individual student to make up her mind is at the heart of the facilitation pedagogy. This is a pedagogy which partly attempts to liberate the students from extraneous philosophical baggage which might get in the way of the projects of International Affairs analyses which are at the heart of these arguments. The term philosophical baggage is not intended as symbolic of disrespect for any of the philosophical or belief positions below. Its use rather represents an important and categorical statement as to why IB students should not allow these philosophical differences to get in the way of the important work that lies ahead of them. Facilitation pedagogy which is an existential pedagogy in an international environment does not define freedom as a kind of licence to think, say and do what you like. Quite to the contrary, freedom throughout the arguments that follow implies freedom to discover one's responsibilities and one's duties. Existentialists see freedom in terms of subjectivity but this is invariably redefined or further qualified as 'inter-subjectivity' or dialogue or communication or respect for the other (Frankl 1967, 1992). The idea of the subjective is important in a project which can be overwhelmed by the detailed considerations of international law and the philosophical complexities and debates surrounding the UDHR. This is one of the reasons why an

existential pedagogy has been formulated. International Affairs scenarios are complex and require the objectivity of good IB student scholarship. What is more important however is that facilitation pedagogy empowers the students to reflect, choose, decide and act responsibly when they engage in dialogue with each other about International Affairs scenarios (Buber 1947) (Bonnet & Cuypers 2003) (Cooper 1990) (Denton 1974) (Frankl 1967, 1992) (Greene 1973, 1988) Van Manen (1997) (Vandenberg 1971, 1997) (See all aims of IB Learner Profile).

The existential can be helpful in facilitation pedagogy because it can remind facilitators that IB student analysers in international schools can come from intellectually diverse philosophical, religious, ethical and political positions. These philosophical positions can be listed as follows:

- (1) Religious people who might be Muslims, Jews, Catholics, Protestants, Hindus, Sikhs, Buddhists and others from many other spiritual and religious traditions.
- (2) Atheists and Agnostics, or Humanists who are not really concerned about whether God exists or not. Alternatively they could be Atheists or Agnostics or Humanists who do not believe in God but who find theology and religious matters quite fascinating.
- (3) Individuals who might be quite sceptical about religion themselves but also might be quite happy to support the right of religious people to express themselves religiously.
- (4) Religious people who are not intimidated by anti-religious attitudes because they believe that faith is a gift from God and they are also not undermined by anti-religious scepticism because they also realise that there is much about religious teachings which might appear to be unreasonable to a scientific or humanistic cast of mind. They recognise too that religious teachings are often rooted in an ornate or mythical or metaphorical or symbolic language which was written centuries or thousands of years ago. In addition, they also understand that the dated dimension of religious texts often makes them impenetrable or inaccessible to the modern mind which might not be tutored in or even sympathetic towards religious arguments in

philosophical or historical theology. On this basis some believers can often be sympathetic, without being patronizing, to the unbelieving cast of mind.

(5) Religious people who believe that science and religion are not incompatible.

(6) Ethical nominalists who believe that the values of good and bad or right or wrong or just or unjust which people hold do not necessarily reflect a real good or a real bad or a real right or a real wrong or real justice or real injustice as they might exist in social practices in the real world. Nominalists might say that these values just reflect conventions or social practices or customs which peoples in certain cultures have decreed. They would further add that this is merely the way the people in their community look at these customs or conventions or virtues or moral practices. In the view of ethical nominalists there are no values which are universally true for all cultures. For the nominalists there are just agreements which make sense to the participants who use and apply these values in their thoughts and their actions (Russell 1996). Ethical nominalists are not necessarily hostile to religion but in keeping with the ideas expressed above they are probably not religious.

(7) Philosophical realists who believe that words like good and bad, right and wrong, just and unjust reflect real goodness, real badness, real right and real wrong and real justice and real injustice. To philosophical realists these words reflect genuine connections with the realities of good and evil behaviour in the real world as we experience and know it. Philosophical realists can be humanists or can be agnostics and atheists but more often than not they are mainly people who are religious believers who subscribe to a religious understanding of the conscience of the individual. These philosophical realists believe that God has imprinted a conscience in the minds and hearts of individuals and that this serves these same individuals in their deciding what is right and wrong or good and bad or just and unjust in the particular social contexts which they inhabit. Media documentary representations of Tony Blair and George Bush from time to time portray them as seeing the world in simplistic terms which are the terms of good and evil or right and wrong or just and unjust. Whether their views are simplistic or not is another matter, but it helps to see the relevance of this philosophical characterisation to the real world of politics. What

needs to be further understood about philosophical realism and ethical relativism needs to be read in the point below (Lewis 1943) (Russell 1996).

(8) Ethical relativists who might concur exactly with the nominalist position described above. What the relativist in this instance would emphasise is that there are no absolute or universal values and that what is important as a value or a value system in one culture might not necessarily be appreciated in the same way in another culture. However, it would be naïve to think that philosophical realists do not also have a sense of ethical relativism. They do, but they do so without being thorough-going or out-and-out relativists. Ethical thinking for these realists is always relative to a specific social, historical and political context and according to them this thinking has to make sense in the lives of the people who inhabit this context. On the other hand they would argue that these values of good and bad and right and wrong and just and unjust should apply to all of humanity and not just some people in certain parts of the world. In certain respects there is a correspondence between philosophical realism and cosmopolitanism (Held 1995, 2002) (Nussbaum 1997, 2000) (Russell 1996).

(9) Evolutionary biologists, some of whom might believe in the philosophical position of Richard Dawkins. Dawkins is an atheist who is also quite hostile to religion because of what he regards as its unscientific approach to the truth. He would further add that science and religion are incompatible and in so saying he would be quite dismissive in his approach to religion. Dawkins would see values very much as most Darwinians do and that is that communities of persons who hold power and are in charge of law making, use their power to implement or enforce the agreements or values or reasoning of the community. Through enforcing these values they either do or do not ensure that their culture or their civilisation might survive (Dawkins 1976).

(10) Wittgensteinians who believe that values need to be understood in terms of the rules governing communication in specific societies. These rules are understood as fundamental to the culture and values in these societies and mainly make sense in the context of the language games of those societies. Values in a Wittgensteinian sense only make sense in rule governed contexts (Holt 1997).

(11) Cosmopolitans like Martha Nussbaum who believe in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and who also believe that the values implicit in these principles should be applicable to and embodied in the constitutions of all nations across the globe (Nussbaum, 1997, 2000). While cosmopolitans might believe in the universality of human rights, they do not necessarily provide philosophical proofs or justifications for their beliefs in the importance of the universality of human rights.

(12) Socialists, capitalists, liberal capitalists, social democrats, Marxists, communists, global capitalists, global citizens, communitarians, environmentalists and also those who subscribe to many other political philosophies which promote the ideals of democracy and freedom.

(13) Individual students who for whatever reasons seem to be entirely disaffected from this process of values clarification.

The purpose of highlighting existential / philosophical differences is in the interests of international understanding

As a prelude to discussions on International Affairs scenarios, students can be given a list of the philosophical differences above and they can be placed in groups where they might share their ideas with each other. The purpose of these discussions can obviously serve the aims of the TOK programme in getting them to realise that despite their philosophical differences, many of them will still be able to agree on the best values of liberty, equality, fraternity and tolerance which might be found in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This can also be a way of getting them to realise that despite their metaphysical, philosophical, ethical, moral or religious or cultural differences, students can still have a lot in common with each other (Annan 2000) (Dower 2002, 2003) (Kung 1991, 1996, 1998) (Lewis 1943). In any event, this preceding philosophical differentiation which certainly exists in the minds and hearts of many in international schools is a good way to get close to one of the central concerns of this thesis and that is the existential 'I' which resides at the heart of discussions. Individual students work in groups, and might even facilitate groups, but ultimately they as individuals accept responsibility for their interpretations, choices, decisions and actions. According to the best principles of facilitation pedagogy,

students must not be railroaded or labelled or stereotyped philosophically, religiously, linguistically, culturally, ethically or politically. There is a danger that in international schools, among all the international projects and group work and international days and internal assessments and extended essays, teachers and the students can lose sight of who they are, who they are becoming and where they want to go. It is important that who the individual is, and how the learning experience and the bureaucracy of the organisation impacts on her life, is visited in the context of the existential freedom of the students. This is why I have provided this contrasting list of values or beliefs in this section. I have listed them here because the existential 'I' in any international school could subscribe to any one or a number of the beliefs above. It is important that student values are clarified because it is quite likely that in discussions their philosophical or religious beliefs will impact on the way that they analyse, interpret and judge moral and political behaviour in International Affairs scenarios.

The positioning of the 'existential' in International Affairs analyses

From a facilitative point of view, the facilitator needs to always be aware of the philosophical, religious, ethical, political, national, cultural and metaphysical differences that might exist between students. The distinctions that have been alluded to above are more than likely going to impact on the discussions and therefore also both the agreements and the disagreements that they have. This is why I have drawn attention to them but I have also focused on them because they are existential distinctions which can help the student facilitator engage with her peers in a constructive and respectful way. They are also distinctions which can help the teacher facilitator enter into genuine dialogue with her students. None of the following is too ambitious or pedagogically unsound for students doing the IB programme. The doubting reader merely has to read the Theory of Knowledge (TOK) Course Guide to realise that the intellectual demands in this thesis pale into insignificance when one looks at the epistemological, philosophy of science, the philosophy of physics, evolutionary theory and other abstract philosophical reflections that can crop up on a TOK programme. There is nothing in this thesis which is philosophically incompatible with the ethics, politics, religion and social science modules on the TOK programme. Further, it is my belief that because the existential content of the arguments of existential pedagogy in this project are indeed minimalist it is unlikely

that the students will take exception to or have too much difficulty with any of the following:

(1) What is important in the existential framework of existential pedagogy is what you think, reason or believe. You are at the core of these International Affairs analyses and you bring your understandings of right and wrong and good and bad and just and unjust, legal and illegal to the International Affairs scenarios under discussion. Perhaps you might like to reflect on how some or even all of the above which are connected to you, impacts on your thinking when you exercise your critical thinking skills in International Affairs analyses.

(2) What you think is paramount! We know you are a Dutch Protestant but we are not overly concerned about what your religious or philosophical outlook is. We are also not concerned about your nationality or your ethnicity. This does not mean that we do not value these things about you, we just think in most cases they will not be an obstacle to our analyses of International Affairs scenarios. In this instance, we just want to know what you think about the immigration laws in Europe but we would also like to hear what you have to say about the Coalition involvement in Iraq. If you of course believe your culture or ethnicity or nationality or religious belief or your philosophical values are pertinent here, please, by all means speak up! The existential underpinnings of the arguments in this thesis inspire us to want to engage in a kind of existential dialogue with you but only if you are willing to become philosophically engaged in this way.

(3) We would also like to know how relevant you think the rulings of the UN Security Council might be and the extent to which you think that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights should impact on political standards across the globe (See Sections 1, 2 & 3 of Appendix One). We recognise that there are human rights conventions like the European Convention on Human Rights which might have relevance in your country but what we really want to know is what you think about these conventions and whether you think they are practical or idealistic or moral or ethical enough or not. Further, do you think that the balance of power in the United Nations is unequal and unfair and do you also believe that the UN is in serious need of reform?

(4) Do you personally believe that the notion of 'duty' in the Kantian and deontological sense of the word is important when analysing what the participants in a conflict might be doing? You are familiar with this terminology which we have used in the ethics module on the TOK programme. So, against this background, do you also think that you personally have a duty to become involved in the politics of your country or in cases of extreme injustice do you feel that you should make an effort to be at the cutting edge of political initiatives which might alleviate poverty or suffering or genocide in other countries?

(5) This then compels me to follow on and ask you whether you, like some, believe that a Universal Declaration of Human Rights is 'nonsense on stilts'? On the other hand do you believe like David Held (1995, 2002) that the principles of the Declaration should be implemented in the constitutions of sovereign democratic states which are member states of the United Nations?

(6) Do you believe that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is a document which can help you understand what your duties might be or do you like Michael Ignatieff believe that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights should be viewed as a framework within which we can seriously exchange ideas on what our duties might be?

(7) Like an existentialist who wants to deal concretely with her problems in moral or political philosophy will you consider utilitarian consequentialism as a useful, relevant and important addition to your understandings of whether an act is good or bad or right or wrong or just or unjust? Further, do you think the emphasis on duty is more important than the emphasis on consequences or do you think that they are both equally important? These are after all considerations which have already partly been covered in the ethics and politics modules of the TOK programme.

(8) Do you believe that there is any wisdom in Sartre's view when he talks about the young Frenchman who is in a dilemma over whether he should look after his mother or whether he should join the free French forces? In this 'mini-narrative' Sartre tells us that neither duty, nor consequences, nor the Christian idea of love, will give you any certainty about what you ought to do or ought not to do. What do you

think of this existentialist position? We did after all also deal with it in the ethics module on the TOK programme too! Do you think that this kind of existential dilemma can be encountered when students are analysing International Affairs scenarios?

(9) Do you not think that in the interests of your own intellectual independence you should have your own philosophical narrative with its own epistemological, cultural, ethical and political ingredients which you could attempt to apply when you are expected to critique issues in international scenarios? It would be interesting to know how you might pull all this together in a comprehensive approach that might be tailor-made for International Affairs analyses. If you do this anyway, don't you think that this very reality constitutes a justification for an existential approach which is not necessarily incompatible with any of the philosophical positions outlined above?

(10) Do you not think that the existential approach is liberating from a pedagogic point of view because it encourages you to look at the works of other thinkers and philosophers in an eclectic way? Further, it encourages you to make your own philosophical connections but also inspires you to keep an open mind so whenever you feel that something no longer fits or is no longer useful in International Affairs scenarios you can dispense with it and perhaps try something else.

(11) Do you perhaps feel intimidated by existential theory because it emphasises that you have to make choices against a background of your working-out and your understanding of your duties and your perception of the consequences of you taking a certain course of action or not taking any action at all? I say intimidating because you really are trying to solve problems that many philosophers, political negotiators or ambassadors at the UN find quite perplexing.

(12) Do you agree that existential thinking helps you to ask the right questions but find that it does not provide you with the right answers? Do you also perhaps understand that this positioning of the existential that has taken place is in the interests of critical thinking in International Affairs scenarios on the IB curriculum (See all aims of IB Learner Profile for points 1-12)?

Probing these exploratory questions above is important if the students are going to agree to work within the existential pedagogy which is at the heart of the philosophy of facilitation. Students studying the IB do TOK modules and are engaged in philosophical analyses over a period of two years so there is no misguided ambition in their trying to philosophically understand the 'existential phenomenological' approach and its accompanying connections. I have alluded to all these considerations in the TOK focus in Chapter One anyway. For the purpose of driving home one of my key ideas in this project I wish to repeat that a comprehensive reading of the TOK Course Outline will indicate quite clearly that there is nothing in this thesis which is too intellectually demanding of the IB students. Certainly some students will struggle but these same strugglers will find a number of other subjects difficult too. These struggles are important for the emotional, intellectual and critical thinking developments of the students. The flexible guidelines of the TOK programme indicate quite profoundly that the students should be encouraged to think critically about political and ethical issues in their local, regional, national and international environments. This entire project on International Affairs education on the IB curriculum has inspired and driven me because I know that from the beginning to the end of the thesis its entire contents are compatible with the demanding requirements and expectations of critical thinking considerations on the TOK Programme. In fact there is not one item throughout this thesis which cannot be exploited for the development of the TOK faculties of IB students.

Further, the existential approach employed throughout can help young people to develop a greater sense of autonomy because while it encourages research of reputable journalistic and media materials, it also tries to inspire students to accept responsibility for their own decision making. It is an approach however which is reluctant to encourage students to develop a herd mentality by looking up to the ideas, works or sayings of gurus or so called experts. While the existentialist teacher might encourage students to read the works of both Noam Chomsky and Robert Kagan she will equally encourage students not to allow themselves to be too easily influenced or led by these thinkers (Chomsky 1998) (Kagan 2003). What is more important in existential philosophy is that the student develops her own ideas in an intellectually independent manner. One of the most important statements about the existential phenomenological approach which weaves its way through this project is that it is

intended as a framework ‘to be used but also to be changed and developed as the students think fit’.

It is important to recognise that in the real world of politics or political discussion in IB classes, students often want to know what justifications their peers might have for their political beliefs. George Bush for example is often ridiculed by his opponents for being a member of the far right or the religious or evangelical right while quite recently efforts were made to discredit Ruth Kelly, the Secretary for Education of Tony Blair’s Labour Party, for being a member of Opus Dei which is remembered, rightly or wrongly, as a far right Catholic organisation because of the association of some of its members with the Franco regime in Spain. This point endorses again the importance of knowing the connection between a person’s ethical, religious and philosophical values and their political values. Students will learn that when they debate International Affairs issues with each other they sometimes demand this kind of transparency from each other. What is also interesting is that students in international schools can come from very religious societies or even very religious families but they themselves can in some instances be lukewarm or even indifferent towards religion. Further, in the real world of politics in a country like the USA and other countries, the citizens will only vote for you if they know what you as a person believe in and what you are prepared to campaign on.

Further to the above concerns, the students can be encouraged to provide their own philosophical autobiography which can illustrate the extent to which they think that their cultural, ethical and religious views impact on their interpretations of democracy and human rights. They can also provide the reader with summaries of the extent to which their own personal values impact on the way they think critically about International Affairs scenarios. A further bonus to this would include the students’ views on how they think their philosophy should impact on the way they relate to peers and teachers in International Affairs classes where sometimes disagreements can outweigh the agreements.

Over a period of two years on the TOK programme, IB students are asked all sorts of personal philosophical questions in a variety of contexts. The TOK course guide listed in the bibliography will confirm this. I was challenged recently by one reader of my

thesis who thought that I was being overly ambitious on the idea of getting IB students to do their own philosophical autobiography. This project I explained did not have to meet graduate standards but rather TOK standards on the International Baccalaureate programme. I then pointed out that I was surprised that she thought that 17 / 18 year old students who were doing a philosophical programme over a two year period might not be able to talk about their ethical, religious, philosophical and other reflections and how these impacted on their lives and their political viewpoints. The project of a philosophical autobiography is certainly not an overly ambitious project if it is dealt with after the students have completed the ethics, politics and religion modules on the TOK programme. Further, I would not be enthusiastic about the contents of this thesis if I did not think it had immense practical value for the IB programme. Much of what is in this thesis is driven by both IB expectations and my own tried and tested experience in the IB classroom.

The implications of the 'subjective', choice and responsibility for facilitation pedagogy and International Affairs analyses

While Sartre's idea of existential choice is certainly rooted in the notion of the subjective, the idea of responsibility is at the heart of his philosophy. There is not a hint of 'do what you want or do what you like' approach in his thinking. This is quite clearly articulated in the following:

In life man commits himself, and draws his own portrait and there is nothing but that portrait. No doubt this thought may seem comfortless to one who has not made a success of his life. On the other hand it puts everyone in a position to understand that reality alone is reliable; that dreams, expectations and hopes serve to define a man only as deceptive dreams, abortive hopes, expectations unfulfilled; that is to say, they define him negatively not positively. Nevertheless, when one says, "You are nothing else but what you live," it does not imply that an artist is to be judged solely by his works of art, for a thousand other things contribute no less to his definition as a man. What we mean to say is that a man is no other than a series of undertakings, that he is the sum, the organisation, the set of relations that constitute these undertakings.

(Sartre 1948 p. 42)

An articulation of the importance of the subjective has been very important in this chapter because of the context in which it is being promoted. International colleges

are often more multi-cultural than national colleges. It is against this background of an attitude of respect for the individual, that the idea of the subjective is emphasised. Controversial issues such as the Arab / Israeli question, the war in Iraq and the prohibition of headgear and all other clothing which contains religious symbols in French schools in 2004 by the French government are just some of the issues that might be discussed in international colleges.

These can in certain circumstances be not only controversial issues; they can also be inflammatory if incorrectly facilitated. Teachers who see the subjective as important will indubitably facilitate their classes in such a way that students will express themselves freely and openly. A 'what do you think?' approach to facilitation is a good start for students working in smaller groups before a plenary session but the existentialist philosopher of education of a Sartrean variety will want to be more influential than that. In keeping with his view that 'choosing on behalf of mankind' is an important dimension to Sartre's thinking, one can quite safely assume that this position can be reasonably developed in an educational context (Denton 1974) (Kneller 1964) (Morris 1966) (Sartre 1948). In terms of the creative and inter-subjective features of Sartre's thinking one could assume that it would be quite coherent for the existentialist facilitator to encourage caution, consideration, respect, tolerance and multi-cultural sensitivity in discussions. The attitude of agreeing to disagree courteously and respectfully is not at variance with respect for the idea of the subjective. Respect for the subjective in fact commands all the positive features of good communication and good dialogue. If students feel they are working in an environment that is respectful of cultural differences, they will grow in confidence and they will also not feel afraid to express what they genuinely believe and think.

From another perspective, the idea of 'the loose cannon' saying what they like in discussions would be entirely out of place in Sartre's thinking because it might not be mindful of respect for the other. Sartrean thinking is quite dialogic in the sense that in educational contexts how others in a group might feel is a very important consideration. Nothing could reinforce this point more effectively than the following:

When we say that man chooses himself, we do mean that every one of us must choose himself; but by that we also mean that in choosing for himself he chooses for all men.

For in effect, of all the actions a man may take in order to create himself as he wills to be, there is not one which is not creative, at the same time, of an image of man such as he believes he ought to be. To choose between this or that is at the same time to affirm the value of that which is chosen; for we are unable ever to choose the worse. What we choose is always better; and nothing can be better for us unless it is better for all.

(Sartre 1948 p. 29)

Besides concern for the other, Sartre's thinking has other implications for existential pedagogy which might have value for International Affairs education on the International Baccalaureate programme.

The ideas of 'subjectivity' and 'uncertainty' and International Affairs education on the International Baccalaureate curriculum

As a starting point in discussions on complex issues such as the war on Iraq the notion of the subjective could be useful. International Affairs teachers can set the right tone and create the right kind of atmosphere by affirming the subjective as a focus which needs to be respected. Such a platform of sharing is useful and helpful because if subjectivity as a starting point in discussions is something to be respected, then in dialogue people might feel free to share constructive and critically thought out ideas that they might have about George Bush or the late Yasser Arafat and the assassinated Sheik Yassin of Hamas or Ariel Sharon. I do not believe that it can be in the interests of International Affairs education that uncritically negative attitudes towards any of these politicians can be considered as a given or a premise in an International Affairs discussion. I have on numerous occasions been faced with students who in their first International Affairs class have launched into an acrimonious and media-driven diatribe against any one of the above. International Affairs education like any other values-related education should respect the diversity of opinions that students might hold. Media driven analyses often focus on how bad political decisions have been rather than how difficult they might have been. Politicians often do not have the wisdom or benefit of hindsight because they have to act in the 'here and now' of a parliamentary sitting where decisions have to be made. This emphasis on subjectivity does not mean that the acts of politicians must not be criticised. Quite to the contrary, their actions need to be debated and criticised but one sometimes wonders whether the media do indeed give them a fair hearing too. The focus on the subjective in

International Affairs education needs to cut both ways in educational settings. Educators are not really entitled to create the kind of environment where an uncritical atmosphere and therefore an anti-intellectual atmosphere prevail. A democratic and existentially focused classroom is not a party political broadcast. According to the principle of subjectivity being promoted here a classroom or an educational setting is a place where a variety of viewpoints need to be logically developed and argued in a reasonable and fair way. This is explored more deeply in Chapter Seven on bias, prejudice and indoctrination.

Such an approach might be less intimidating to those students who do not have the courage to argue against 'Bush is an idiot' rhetoric or a volcanic diatribe against Hamas and their Palestinian suicide bombers. We can understand why people take on positions such as these but in the interests of International Affairs education, students and teachers need to rise above this level. In the interests of subjectivity or respect for persons there is also something to be said for a more cautious or more tentative approach before making up one's mind on issues.

As already alluded to above, we find this uncertainty at the heart of Sartrean existentialism when we read in *Existentialism and Humanism* of the young man living under the German Occupation of France who is not sure whether he should join the free French forces or care for his mother who has no one else to look after her (Sartre 1948). Philosophically, there is a lesson here for International Affairs educators. We get the impression from Sartre's line of reasoning that neither a Kantian sense of duty nor a utilitarian understanding of consequences nor the Christian idea of love will tell this young man what he has to do. So if neither the deontological nor the utilitarian nor 'love thy neighbour as thyself' are going to solve the problem, what is there left? For Sartre, the only alternative open is choice and that means that an individual must decide what he / she thinks he / she ought to do. Choice in Sartrean terms is rooted in a kind of uncertainty because in complex moral situations this is how things often can be. What is the right thing to do in these contexts is often not an easy position to arrive at. Parliaments throughout the democratic world are full of reasonable people who cannot agree on multiple issues. Reason is certainly very important in this thesis but the 'multiple narratives' approach is informative because it endorses the idea that reason can often be embedded in different ways of looking at the world. This example

of the young man's dilemma has a lesson for International Affairs education. Whether it was right for the coalition forces to go into Iraq or not is a far more complex dilemma than that facing Sartre's young man. Because uncertainty is at the heart of many International Affairs decisions, there is a very good reason for students and teachers who respect the idea of subjectivity to agree on the idea of participants starting discussions against a background of equality. A positive approach which might emerge from this position rooted in respect for subjectivity could involve the participants saying, 'We can't talk with any great certainty here so let's start from scratch and try and work out what we as individuals know, understand and also what we can agree or disagree on'. The idea of respect for the other or subjectivity is a good starting point for any discussion in the area of International Affairs. The application of this smaller scale dilemma of Sartre's young man is developed into a more complex scenario for International Affairs educators in what follows.

To start off a discussion or a debate on whether it was right or wrong for the coalition forces to go into Iraq requires complex understandings of the principles, procedures and resolutions of the UN. It also demands insightful appreciations of international law, the principles of the UDHR, the efficiency of sanctions, Saddam Hussein's possible connections with the international terror network and the risk of leaving him in power. President Bush and Prime Minister Blair have come in for a lot of criticism over their invasion of Iraq. Supporters and critics of both leaders have marshalled arguments for and against them in terms of arguments like duty to the people of Iraq, duty to the people in the region, duty to the international community and the consequences of removing or not removing Saddam Hussein. This menu of sometimes 'conflicting duties' really can create a conflict of interests in the decision making process. Many critics like the expelled Labour party M.P. George Galloway, now MP for the Respect Party, continue to emphasise the tens of thousands of innocents who have been killed. The pro-war supporters have emphasised that this was the only way to secure democracy and free the region of the malevolent influence of Saddam Hussein, his two sons and their Baath party supporters. They further argue that the ferocity of the Baathist-led insurgency which has deliberately slaughtered innocent Iraqi civilians has demonstrated just how difficult it was going to be for the Iraqis to free themselves from the malevolent oppression of Saddam's regime. They would further add that they remain unconvinced by the view that the insurgency

would not have taken root if the invasion of Iraq had been supported by the UN Security Council.

One just has to remember the divisions that the war in Iraq has caused and continues to cause among individuals in nations and among nations. It truly has divided the world! It has divided the world because of its serious impact but also because it is not as clear-cut an issue as some might think. There are intelligent arguments argued by sensible people on both sides. Perhaps Prime Minister Blair's apology to the House of Commons when he said: 'I apologise for the intelligence getting it wrong on the matter of the weapons of mass destruction but I do not apologise for the removal of Saddam Hussein' sums up his perception of the nature of this dilemma well. This is not meant to be a moral justification for the war on Iraq but it does highlight the potential risk, even risks of unimaginable proportions that might have been connected to leaving Saddam Hussein in power. The anti-war lobby is perhaps right on the illegality of the war but if legality is the sole criterion of decision making, is it not possible that Saddam Hussein and / or his sons could have continued to be a menace in Iraq and also in the region for decades and even longer? Serious participants in this debate would also ask whether Saddam Hussein eventually might have been a financial backer free to inspire or to continue to inspire international terrorism without the intervention of those who are responsible for the maintenance of international law. Saddam Hussein was notorious for his guile and shrewdness and also his blatant obtuseness as a violator of international law and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. What is very clear is that we do not know all the answers to these questions. There is much that is hypothetical and there are many uncertainties and one might well say that the uncertainties weaken the arguments of both the pro and the anti-war camps.

This argument is far from complete but the development of the argument is not the purpose of this chapter. The argument so far is not developed enough on both sides to be considered as a serious academic treatment of the rights and wrongs of the war on Iraq. What however has been hopefully indicated is that the decision on whether it was right to go to war or not is clearly a dilemma of extraordinary proportions. It is possible that both sides could be right and wrong on this matter. This is not helpful but what might be helpful is that what we have here for the purposes of International

Affairs education is a good cause for humility, modesty and caution in talking about complex national and international issues. The UDHR is central to the cosmopolitan arguments promoted in this thesis but no one owns the UDHR and nobody can be arrogant enough to say they are convinced their interpretation on the matter of the war on Iraq is indubitably right. Political opinions always have that dimension of the provisional rather than finality about them. Facts that emerge later often prove us wrong and this is always a good thing to bear in mind when we rush to judgement.

Humility as a starting point is always appropriate and useful in communicative contexts like International Affairs classes. International Affairs classes deal with issues which can confuse the best brains in parliaments and the Security Council of the UN. Complex issues and dilemmas continually surface within the framework of the many global issues that challenge students on matters of right and wrong on the IB. One just has to think of the controversies that abortion, euthanasia, provision for asylum seekers, development aid, relief aid, freedom of the press, nuclear weapons and the sale of weapons to rogue states, justice for Palestine, and the politics of oil cause among individuals, committees, communities and nations. It is to the credit of the International Baccalaureate curriculum that its teachers are prepared to challenge its students on such robust matters but it also highlights the complexity of being a student and a global citizen on such a rich and diverse programme.

The uncertainty that might be connected to a notion such as subjectivity can mean that participants in International Affairs classes must tread cautiously. There could be other safeguards and benefits. The likelihood of Muslims, Christians, Jews, right wing, moderate and left wing secularists and others disagreeing is quite high in discussions on politically contentious issues in the Middle East. A cautious, courteous and modest approach is always helpful but it does not have to compromise the honesty and openness of an individual. Dishonesty can become a real obstacle to communication. International Affairs educators on the International Baccalaureate programme would want the full extent of the so far incomplete discussion on the war on Iraq above to be fully developed. What these educators should want against the background of the ethics, attitudes and human rights concerns of the IB is a courteous and respectful exchange of ideas. If International Baccalaureate students can in humility agree to disagree in the case of a dilemma as complex as whether it is right

or wrong to go to war or not, this is an achievement in International Affairs education. For them to part in anger and refuse to be talking to each other would constitute a failure.

If anything is to be gained by the emphasis on the existential in this argument so far, it is the fact that what is 'the truth' or what is 'right' and 'wrong' or 'what is good or bad' or what is 'just' or 'unjust' are not as crystal clear as some people, perhaps impressionable IB students, might imagine. However, what is of primary importance is that respect for the subjective or the existential has certain benefits for the teaching and learning process. The spirit of what I have been trying to say is well summed up in the following:

And a precondition of such talk, as Stevenson says, is that we must be prepared to listen as well as to speak, to acknowledge that we do not know the answers before we pose the questions. Bill Clinton used to see himself as a politician at the heart of what he called "the conversation". His was a conversation about many things -- the role of government, the failure of world socialism, the persistence of inequality and much more-but at its heart was a recognition that wooden dogmatisms (Stevenson's phrase) provided no solutions, and that neither he nor we knew the answers to the questions that the conversation continually posed.

(Kettle 2005, '*Creativity and freedom have given way to egotism and adversarialism*' The Guardian Tuesday August 16, 2005, p.18)

In the same article, much of what I have been saying throughout this chapter on propaganda and existential uncertainty is confirmed. The same article laments the death of genuine dialogue about truth and justice and this is very aptly expressed in:

Some of my best friends work on the Today programme. Yet it seems to me that our public talk in this country is being relentlessly drained of the elements that make such talk rewarding. Politicians, indeed, are now trained specifically not to answer interviewers' questions. Instead they are told to remain focused on making the predetermined points in the party "line to take". Their interrogators are no better, seeking little more than to hector, embarrass and oversimplify. The consensual creativity and freedom of true talkers, trusting and trusted, is wholly absent, almost wholly subordinated to egotism, adversarialism and melodrama.

(Kettle 2005, '*Creativity and freedom have given way to egotism and adversarialism*' The Guardian Tuesday August 16, 2005, p.18)

Against this background therefore I believe that the individual who wants to ‘attain the truth’ in matters of social justice and other global citizenship concerns needs to be mindful of all that conspires against genuine dialogue. This is the kind of dialogue which is underpinned by what Buber and Marcel referred to as the ‘I-Thou’ relationship which is a relationship of dignity, trust and respect. This approach illustrates respect for the subjectivity of the other (Buber 1947) (Marcel 1950, 1951). There are some who might accuse me of inconsistency regarding my position on the ‘attainment of truth’ regarding the above. They might say that my emphasis on ‘uncertainty’ in decision making and the added point of leaders often ‘not knowing all the answers’ contradict the idea that one might want to attain the truth. To a certain extent this is true but politics some might say reflects the art of the possible and that the world of politics is full of a mixture of reasoning, risk taking and faith that things might hopefully work out. Humility, a sense of uncertainty and fear of the consequences of one’s actions are valuable considerations in decision making but one also needs to recognise that one can not be paralysed into inertia by these concerns. Politics is after all, full of difficult choices. People who enter politics know that they risk their lives and reputations in doing so. At best they are the kind of people who enter politics in the spirit of at least attempting to attain the truth. Good political leadership is probably a rare commodity in the modern world. This point highlights the difficulties encountered in decision making rather than the value of the leaders who struggle with their decision making.

**Why a phenomenological / existential approach to facilitation pedagogy
connected to the IB Learner Profile should emphasise a case study approach to
the study of international affairs**

In the earlier chapters of this thesis I allude to the multiple case studies which populate Chapters Four, Five, Six and Seven. Then of course there is the case study on the Arab / Israeli Question which is in Appendix Two. In Chapter Eight I argue the case for a compulsory international affairs programme on the IB. Because of these considerations I believe that this is the chapter in which I need to assert quite emphatically that such a programme were it to be implemented on the IB, ought to be delivered to the students in a case study format which is underpinned by a facilitation pedagogy which is rooted in the phenomenological approach and the IB Learner Profile. Further, I believe that a case study approach is fundamental to the attainment

of my phenomenological approach towards a facilitation pedagogy for international affairs on the IB. I say this because I personally would not want it to be the kind of course which is dominated by a top-down didactic approach towards (a) the history of international relations from 1939-2007 (b) The role of human rights theory in international relations since the Second World War (c) The influence of Hobbes and Locke in international relations theory in the contemporary world (d) The philosophical underpinnings of Soviet Foreign Policy since the Second World War (e) The philosophical underpinnings of USA Foreign Policy since the Second World War.

The above topics are very interesting in their own right and any international affairs facilitator would want her students to read up about these concerns. However, in keeping with the philosophical and facilitation developments throughout this thesis I value the case study approach for the following reasons:

- (1) Because the majority of students come from sovereign states a case study approach will enable them to focus on the political interests that they might have in their state. An international affairs focus will allow them to focus on the contemporary problems, achievements and failures in their political systems.
- (2) Further, in the interests of student autonomy and intellectual independence they will be able to work out with their teachers, assignment questions, research projects, extended essay, tutorial and examination priorities.
- (3) If a student is specifically interested in a particular political theme in her own country, an IB designed international affairs course would provide the student with the opportunities to do a challenging project of in-depth intellectual value.
- (4) Further to the above, all the students of different nationalities from different countries would be able to share their authoritative findings with others. These activities could bring internationalism alive in a way which many who initiated the IB programme had envisaged.

(5) If enquiries, explorations, descriptions, analyses and interpretations are underpinned by the IB Learner Profile, the phenomenological and the 'multiple narratives approaches' can ensure that the students are comprehensive and unbiased in their descriptions of the problems, achievements and failures in their countries.

(6) Further to the descriptive content of the thesis which is fundamental to understanding what the 'multiple narratives' in a scenario are, the case study approach is also concerned with post-phenomenological considerations which involve judgements of what is good and bad, right and wrong, just and unjust, legal and illegal. In this respect the existential concerns of this chapter must be highly relevant to this case study approach. What needs to be prioritised here is that the case study approach in this thesis is facilitative and in that sense the facilitation is prior in importance to the content of the international affairs scenarios. This explains why the content in all the case studies of this thesis is dealt with in a minimalist way. On the other hand because the content is treated in a minimalist way this does not mean that the facilitator of international affairs will not encourage her students to pursue the content as comprehensively as they might wish. The international affairs content of all the case studies or the scenarios discussed or quoted in the thesis are intended to illustrate how teachers and students can get started with a facilitated approach to international affairs on the IB. What is promising about the case study approach is that at a basic level it is informative and involving, student driven and it can whet the appetites of all those concerned. However, it can also be the beginning of an extended essay or a life long interest in the Middle East or USA Foreign Policy. One can surely say that the case study approach has profound educational value?

(7) The phenomenological approach can serve the interests of the students in the case study format well because it will demand that they must make an effort to explore and describe all the different 'narratives' in an international affairs scenario as comprehensively as possible.

(8) I envisage an international affairs course mainly to be about what is happening in the world today. I make this case because that is exactly what my focus with my IB students has been over the years. I believe that a fully fledged international affairs course will give the students a sense of vibrancy because they will be dealing with the

cut and thrust of contemporary global politics. I have been struck over the years by the number of students who want to study international affairs at university but they find that many of the prestigious institutions do not offer the kind of international affairs course which I emphasise in this thesis. They often find themselves going through prospectuses which focus on courses in international affairs or international politics which focus quite heavily on international relations theory or the history of international relations during or since the Cold War. They are disappointed because what they would rather spend more time on are the sorts of contemporary case studies which I emphasise in this thesis. It is my experience that students would like to do an international affairs course which focuses on the debates, arguments, conflicts and political achievements which are covered so extensively in the media today.

(9) I believe that a good international affairs course in the context of the IB would obviously present the students with a rich menu of choices which would allow them to choose which areas they would like to study over the two years. I think there should be core courses which everyone does but this does not necessarily have to make up the bulk of the course.

I would envisage that all the topics listed in Chapter Eight could be studied within the case study format. This list is provisional and intended as a starting point for a discussion on what should be in the syllabus for a compulsory international affairs programme but as I mentioned previously there should be a good degree of flexibility and freedom of choice. In Chapter Eight I develop more fully and completely my argument for a fully fledged and compulsory international affairs course on the IB.

Chapter Four

The relevance of human rights and global citizenship understandings to a facilitation pedagogy for International Affairs education on the IB curriculum

Introduction

In a sense this chapter is the ethical or the moral chapter of this project. This however does not mean for one moment that a kind of moral orthodoxy will be transmitted as a font or source or catechism for all the moral or political judgements that students make on International Affairs scenarios. In Chapter Three I made it quite clear that individual students can subscribe to a wide range of philosophical, moral, religious or political positions which will be highly influential in their value judgements on what is good or bad or right or wrong or just or unjust or legal and illegal. There are some who might consider that issues of legal and illegal fit into a different category from value judgements on good and bad and right and wrong. This might be right for most of the time but there are instances in which 'interpretation or personal opinion or philosophical position' can impact quite significantly on debates in international law. The law still has to be applied or interpreted against certain backgrounds or in certain contexts such as the war in Iraq. Kofi Annan believes the intervention in Iraq is illegal. The Pentagon and many in the Bush Administration however believe that because Saddam Hussein was already in violation of 17 UN resolutions the invasion was legal. This is not a comprehensive treatment of the problem but it does highlight that even in matters of international law, the law itself can never be taken as a given. Personal judgement and interpretation can often cloud or mystify what seems to be set in stone. Differences of opinion in the modern world impact on social and political and moral matters. Differences of opinion are after all a feature of post modernity (Bauman 1993). Against this background, I don't think it is an inappropriate thing to say that personal judgement impacts on international law in a similar way to the way it impacts on individual judgements on matters of good and bad and right and wrong.

Further to this, it needs to be articulated here that in terms of the existential emphasis defined in the thesis, these philosophical and other positions to which students

subscribe are frameworks which might be influential in the various kinds of ethical thinking, choices and actions that might engage or occupy them. From an existentialist perspective this is an important point to make because cultural premises or philosophical principles or moral frameworks or ethical canons despite their overriding presence do not necessarily have an influential impact on how the students might think, choose and decide to act in particular contexts or situations. The existential position recognises that when it comes to solving personal or communal or national or international problems there are no blueprints or panaceas or simple solutions. One just has to look at how Christians or Marxists or Muslims or Jews or Atheists might differ with members of their own philosophical or religious group to realise and understand that the subjectivity and the individual interpretations of scholars and students will often lead to disagreements. The 'narrative' and 'multiple narratives' approaches in this project have got pedagogic value because they have philosophical value too. In our post modern world we are faced with disagreements at every corner and every turn because there are numerous ideological divisions in the way individuals think and believe we should do things in the world of politics and international relations. The same point of course applies to democracy which also has to provide philosophical, moral, political and legal frameworks for the multiple positions argued by individuals and political parties (Anderson–Gold 2001) (Ignatieff 2001). Tony Blair of course needs no reminding that agreements on democracy with party colleagues are no guarantee that there will be agreements even in his own cabinet on specific scenarios. He was faced with fierce opposition from two of his cabinet ministers on an issue like the war in Iraq. The late Robin Cooke and Clare Short made sure of that. Against this brief background it is important for the readers' benefit that they know I believe that similar arguments pertain to both 'human rights' and 'global citizenship' concerns in this project. Both topics are treated as contestable frameworks for debate and discussion because that is what they are. Human rights discussions the world over are often fraught with disagreement because individuals disagree on both the content and their application in both national and international contexts (Davis 1995) (Annan 2000). Further to this, it is important to note at this early stage of the chapter that although there is an overlap between these two themes they will mainly be treated separately. Their parallel treatment is one of convenience rather than philosophical logic.

Further to these concerns, the philosophical education of the students in the existential phenomenological approach and its accompanying philosophical connections which the teachers and students on the IB curriculum use in their analyses of International Affairs scenarios will also receive attention. The focus here will be mainly on how a philosophy of facilitative pedagogy which is connected to my brand of existential phenomenology will help IB students gain greater literacy in the human rights and global citizenship elements of the philosophical discussion. What is comforting about the philosophical education of the students and teachers in this discussion is that it only has to feature minimalist recommendations because the contents of this thesis can serve as a rich resource for their education anyway. This is after all a thesis in facilitative philosophy rather than human rights or global citizenship so it is important that the facilitation of International Affairs on the IB curriculum remains at the heart of this chapter.

Human rights as a framework for the ‘multiple narratives’ of facilitation pedagogy

Fundamental to literacy on human rights understandings for International Affairs analyses is that the students are facilitated in such a way that they get to realise that there are ‘multiple narratives’ on what human rights are or should be. In order to pursue this end they need to know that there are multiple perspectives on human rights issues and different interest groups in different cultures and nations can have different understandings of human rights and the United Nations. Because the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights originate in, and are housed and applied by the United Nations, the reader will find that this inextricable link leads me to switch my concerns from the principles of the UDHR to the organisation without too much fuss or concern throughout this chapter. This is not an example of disorganised thinking but rather a purposeful and meaningful shift from the abstract principles to their organisational implications in the world of International Affairs. Considerations emerge in such a way that the reader will never really lose sight of the fact that the concerns of human rights are really the concern of the United Nations which is the natural custodian of human rights (De Feyter 2005) (Finnis 1993).

In the interests of a proper facilitation of the ‘multiple narratives’ of the multiple International Affairs scenarios that populate this project it is important that the teacher of International Affairs creates opportunities for students to get to know and understand the following:

(1) The content of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights with special reference to its history and the member nations of the United Nations who have signed up to it (See Sections 1, 2 & 3 in Appendix One). How the General Assembly, the Security Council and the different organisations in the United Nations attempt to fulfil their roles in complying with the principles and resolutions of the United Nations. Students should be encouraged to explore particular achievements or successes of The United Nations which might include the international sanctions imposed on the South African Government during the Apartheid years and how sanctions brought an end to injustice and the beginning of democracy under Nelson Mandela’s ANC in 1994. Failures like the inability of the UN to deliver the peoples of Rwanda from the genocide of 1994 should also be explored. What the Rwanda scenario can teach young IB students is that disagreements in the UN can lead to a lack of political will and that can result in inertia which can itself result in a lack of intervention which can mean inadequate or non-existent protection for millions who might be slaughtered by vicious militias. The successes and failures of the UN should be explored so that the students can gain a credible understanding of its track record. This in itself can provide the students with a realistic and insightful understanding of how the UN might learn from its successes and its mistakes. The successes and failures of the UN tell the IB researchers how important the implementation of the principles of the UDHR in specific contexts is to the credibility of the UN (Anderson-Gold 2001) (Forsythe 2000).

(2) The controversies that populate human rights literature and how different academics agree and disagree on the relevance and importance of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Further, the students can use these understandings to work out how they might consider that the UN might become a better and fairer organisation. Some political theorists like David Held, might conclude that the member nations of the UN would be better nations and better members of the UN if they realised the extent to which the Universal Declaration of Human Rights ought to

be enshrined at the heart of their national constitutions. This is expressed in the following:

The possibility of a global social democratic polity must be linked to an expanding framework of states and agencies bound by the rule of law, democratic principles and human rights. How should this be understood from an institutional point of view? Initially, the possibility of a global social polity could be enhanced if the UN system actually lived up to its Charter. Among other things, this would mean pursuing measures to implement key elements of the conventions on rights, and enforcing the prohibition on the discretionary right to use force. (Held 2004 p.108)

(3) The status of the individual member states of the United Nations and how there are those critics who believe that one of the problems of the United Nations is the inequality and the lack of democracy that prevails in the proceedings of the United Nations (Kagan 2003).

(4) The fact that certain philosophers and politicians regard the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as highly contestable and that their confrontations with the UN on both philosophical and political levels does in certain respects weaken the credibility and authority of the UN (Ignatieff 2001, 2003, 2005a, 2005b).

(5) The fact that there is a very strong and powerful USA exceptionalist school of thought which has bipartisan connections in the USA often results in the USA being portrayed as a nation which puts its interests ahead of the interests of the UN. This image results in the perception of the USA as a self serving 'Super Power', rather than a cooperative member of the UN. Many in the UN see the USA as highly problematic for global peace and security because they say the USA sees all the initiatives and resolutions at the UN through the prism of her own self interests. Further, there are others who might argue that the majority of the major nations at the UN see their self interests as primary and their UN interests as secondary. The good facilitator will ensure that her students explore these and the counter arguments to these positions (Cooper 2004) (Ignatieff 2005b) (Kagan 2003). Further, she might also want to contest these negative perceptions of both the USA and other states.

(6) In the interests of a practical approach, the facilitating teacher of International Affairs can get her students to embark on specific UN connected projects which might

help them get a deeper understanding of how the UN sees the Universal Declaration of Human Rights when there are member States like Saudi Arabia and China and Zimbabwe and others which are not democracies in their midst. Perhaps in the interests of deepening these understandings of the importance of human rights the students should be encouraged to explore the moral inconsistencies which exist in the UN. These are considerable but getting different international and multi-cultural groups to explore these in the name of a deeper understanding of human rights could be helpful to the intellectual development of any International Affairs group. Some of the issues which might merit facilitated and delegated research could be:

(A) How countries like China and Russia can really play a leading role in the Security Council of the UN when the internal politics of these states are full of examples of human right violations. How the USA can be considered a credible and leading member of the USA when she herself has been called hundreds of times before the International Criminal Court at 'The Hague' for violating the sovereignty of states.

(B) What the students should also explore is the idea that the UN is a remarkable achievement because it hosts nations which, despite their imperfections, work together in the Security Council and the General Assembly when in fact they could be at war with each other. They should also explore the possibility that the world could be a much worse place than it is if the UN did not exist. Good facilitation will steer the students in the direction of appreciating and valuing the fact that in the UN imperfect states get together to engage in dialogue with each other on human rights and other issues. Further what is also meritorious is that even imperfect states can help in the pursuit and redress of the kind of injustice and violation of human rights that goes on continually under the noses of the international community. This is evidenced in the fact that the UN is committed to and in many instances succeeds in the eradication of the following:

- (a) Murder;
- (b) Extermination;
- (c) Enslavement;
- (d) Deportation or forcible transfer of population;

- (e) Imprisonment or other severe deprivation of physical liberty in violation of fundamental rules of international law;
- (f) Torture;
- (g) Rape, sexual slavery, enforced prostitution, forced pregnancy, enforced sterilization, or any other form of sexual violence of comparable gravity;
- (h) Persecution against any identifiable group or collectivity of political, racial, national, ethnic, cultural, religious, gender as defined in paragraph 3, or other grounds that are universally recognised as impermissible under international law, in connection with any act referred to in this paragraph or any crime within the jurisdiction of the Court;
- (i) Enforced disappearance of persons;
- (j) The crime of apartheid;
- (k) Other inhumane acts of a similar character intentionally causing great suffering or serious injury to body or to mental or physical health.

(Owen 2001 pp.114-115)

From a metaphorical point of view, the imperfect member state of the UN might be like the imperfect and flawed Catholic, Protestant or Jew or Moslem or Hindu who decides to remain devout and live according to the standards of her faith because she knows that the norms of her religion are an inspiration to her reflections, choices and actions. These believers also recognise that without the spiritual and normative content of their religion they might be far worse as human beings and as citizens of the international community. Many would concur with this metaphor and say that the world would be a far less satisfactory place without the UN.

(C) Students should be encouraged to explore literature which summarises and explains how the UN might be reformed into a better institution which might become more democratic and more efficient in the attainment of greater justice and greater democracy throughout the world (Held 1995, 2002) (Held & McGrew 2004).

(D) Students can be encouraged to explore their own philosophical understandings of what the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is and what it could be. They need to become aware of the ambiguities, contradictions and disagreements that exist in the minds of many who try to understand the complexity of human rights research. In the interests of more profound facilitation they could explore the principles of the UDHR as standards or ideals which can inspire idealism among individuals, communities, nations and the international community at large. From an existential perspective this might mean that the students could explore the connection between

their own religious belief or their own particular philosophical or ethical or political outlook and the principles of the UDHR. This kind of personal philosophical exploration can result in the students perhaps realising that the principles of the UDHR correspond mainly with the highest standards of justice which are rooted in the many religious, philosophical, legal, ethical and moral texts which abound in many societies. Such explorations by students can result in them realising that the principles of the UDHR correspond with the highest ideals of culture and civilisation in their own countries.

(E) Further, the students need to explore the cosmopolitan position on 'human rights' which presents them not only as principles or ideals but rather as realities which have legal status and are legally binding on all states in the international community. The facilitator and her students will find much food for thought in the following:

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenants provide a moral and legal framework for freeing the individual from terror and oppression and, eventually, also from poverty and want. It can only damage the individual citizen if governments try to play civil and political rights off against economic, social and cultural rights, while failing to deliver on either. Collective and individual rights are but two sides of a single coin. As individuals, we should extend to others across society precisely those rights which we would wish others to extend to us.

Any form of 'development' worthy of that name must involve education, democracy and human rights. Repression is not a means to economic development. Respect for human rights is not an obstacle to economic growth, and is indeed, a precondition for sustaining it. Development is a legitimate expectation, but it is never an acceptable excuse for failing to respect other human rights.

The developed world has made forthright commitments to the international promotion of human rights through their foreign policies, sometimes including their development aid programs. In reality, however, actions they have taken, or refrained from taking on human rights grounds, have often been politically selective rather than principled and consistent. Unless policies are credible and consistent, they will continue to be viewed by the developing world as the assertion of cultural superiority and moral condescension.

(Davis 1995 p.64)

Teacher or student facilitators will find that the above quotation is in the broadest sense of the word 'narrative' full of 'multiple narratives' which will no doubt deepen

their understandings of how individuals from different cultures can have different understandings of human rights.

Human rights and the 'narrative' and the 'multiple narratives' elements which might be connected to the existential phenomenological approach

The purpose of a facilitative pedagogy emphasising that students work in groups and share their findings on the above is in a sense an attempt to get them to develop some kind of philosophical literacy on human rights understandings. This literacy will ensure that they will learn that the family of nations which is the United Nations is full of 'multiple narratives' on all sorts of issues. Human rights are a concern in the International Affairs scenarios on South Africa, China, Iraq and Israel / Palestine which prevail in the remaining chapters of this thesis. In a sense therefore the reader will have to read the rest of the thesis before they can gain a more complete idea of the relevance of human rights to my existential facilitation pedagogy. However, there is no reason why in this chapter a mini-project on human rights in the context of the UN might not be developed for the purposes of facilitation pedagogy. One of the purposes of this mini-project is to show how profound and wide ranging the human rights concerns and interests of the United Nations are.

How facilitation pedagogy can bring alive understandings of human rights and the UN

As one can imagine, understanding the relevance of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and its importance could be a life long task for a university professor let alone IB International Affairs teachers and their students. It is important therefore that a practical and up to date approach inheres in the pedagogy communicating human rights understandings. An informative and contemporary approach might for example reside in getting the students to look at what some critics might regard as the polarisation which exists between the USA and many other nations at the UN. A newspaper headline from the Independent can serve as a stimulus for the students exploring and critiquing a project entitled *'The US vs. The UN: American Ambassador seeks to scupper UN's global strategy with 750 amendments after just three weeks in the job'* (Usborne 2005).

The first three paragraphs of Usborne's article makes the UN global strategy and opposing USA priorities quite clear when he says:

America's controversial new ambassador to the United Nations is seeking to shred an agreement on strengthening the world body and fighting poverty intended to be the highlight of a 60th anniversary summit next month. In the extraordinary intervention, John Bolton has sought to roll back proposed UN commitments on aid to developing countries, combating global warming and nuclear disarmament.

Mr Bolton has demanded no fewer than 750 amendments to the blue print restating the ideals of the international body, which was originally drafted by the UN secretary general, Kofi Annan.

The amendments are spelt out in a 32-page US version, first reported by the *Washington Post* and acquired yesterday by the Independent. The document is littered with deletions and exclusions. Most strikingly, the changes eliminate all specific references to the Millennium Development goals, accepted by all countries at the last major UN summit in 2000, including the United States.

The Americans are also seeking virtually to remove all references to the Kyoto Treaty and the battle against global warming. They are striking out mention of the disputed International Criminal Court and drawing a red line through any suggestion that the nuclear powers should dismantle their arsenals. Instead the US is seeking to add emphasis to passages on fighting terrorism and spreading democracy (Usborne 2005).

The facilitator can divide her class into six groups and get them to research the following areas listed below. Before assigning her students to activities in groups the students can be briefed at the outset on a number of issues which might include:

- 1 In your groups identify the extent to which your particular group task is about how the UN and USA differ in so many areas on the matter of human rights.
- 2 Choose at least two people in your group who will be the human rights researchers for your group. Ensure that they are focused on maintaining the human rights emphasis in your specific project. They will therefore be able to advise other members of the group on how human rights comes into discussions on poverty, trade, nuclear weapons, aid, climate change and the International Criminal Court.
- 3 You are encouraged to use your intellectual independence and creativity in such a way that your project becomes very meaningful for individuals and the small group and the plenary sessions.

The activities might be organised and delegated in multi-cultural groups as follows:

A facilitated project on human rights

Group One

Poverty

This group can research the claim that the USA seeks to delete from the blueprint reference to the UN's Millennium Goals of tackling poverty and disease. The 'multiple narratives' to be explored here will include the USA's desire to have less specific and less detailed references to the reduction of poverty.

Group Two

Nuclear Weapons

This group can explore the claim that the US wants to scrap provision calling on nuclear powers to speed up disarmament. The 'multiple narratives' of the different nations here will include the USA's emphasis not on recommitting to nuclear disarmament but rather on its commitment to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

Group Three

Aid

This group can explore the claim that the USA aims to remove already agreed targets of foreign aid to poor nations. The 'multiple narratives' will include the USA's emphasis on deleting the 0.7% contribution of the wealthy countries' gross national product. The details of the USA wanting to link aid increases to good housekeeping and further liberalisation of markets ought also to be considered.

Group Four

Trade

This group can explore the claim that the USA seeks to restrict Third World countries joining the World Trade Organisation. The 'multiple narratives' here will include the USA insistence that countries seeking to join the WTO must be willing and able to undertake WTO commitments.

Group Five

Climate Change

This group can explore the claims that the USA wants to scrap provisions calling for action to halt global warming. 'Multiple narratives' will include the USA rejection of the global action plan connected to the Kyoto agreement which includes greater participation by developing nations. The USA stresses the importance of energy efficiency and the development of new technologies and rejects the assertion that climate change is a long-term challenge that potentially could affect every part of the world.

Group Six

The International Criminal Court

This group can explore the claim that the USA seeks to cut out reference to the International Criminal Court, the world's permanent war crimes court. The presentation of 'multiple narratives', which ought to include disagreements about the role of the international criminal court, should be important. The students will find it interesting that in 2002 the Bush Administration controversially withdrew its support for certain statutes of the International Criminal Court. Against the background of USA soldiers being possibly prosecuted while in the line of duty, exploration of this 'narrative' would serve the project well.

While the USA seems to come in for a lot of criticism in the UN it is important that the 'multiple narratives' approach can be employed in such a way that there is no unfair treatment of the USA in the above matters. In the interests of the critical thinking that prevails in this thesis it is important that all points of view are comprehensively accommodated and if the facilitator feels that there are views which are being overlooked or poorly argued she should try and intervene as a facilitator and get the students to be more ambitious in looking at the widest and best possible range of arguments. What must however prevail throughout the reflections in all the above groups is that human rights are at the centre of discussions.

Other awareness raising assignments on human rights to bolster the human rights project

Against the background of the above project there are numerous other awareness raising assignments that can occupy facilitated students and their teachers in a deeper pursuit of understanding of human rights in the context of the UN (See Sections 1, 2, & 3 in Appendix One). These might include a focus on:

- (1) The different understandings of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
- (2) The connection between the UDHR and International law.
- (3) Mini case studies on how the Security Council and all the other organs of the United Nations work
- (4) How the philosophical, cultural, political, religious, legal and humanistic canons of the individual students from different countries connect to the principles of the UDHR. This might involve extended discussions on the extent to which different individuals because of any of these mentioned canons or reasons might find their cultural or religious principles are incompatible with the abortion or gay or lesbian or gender or other rights implicit in the UDHR. This of course does not necessarily mean that on the basis of disagreements on relativistic or cultural or religious premises there will be an impasse or a breakdown in communication. It will also not mean that in these particular instances the principles in the UDHR are morally wrong or that the particular individuals from specific countries who might favour female circumcision or coerced or arranged marriages are morally right. In the context of IB philosophy this is an opportunity for dialogue and debate on 'multiple narratives', ideologies and perspectives in international issues.
- (5) An examination of the extent to which the students from the different countries believe that their countries and other countries have been in breach of the principles of the UDHR.
- (6) An examination of the positive and negative roles that individual countries have played in the United Nations. It would also be interesting for the

- different students to examine the diversity of opinions about the United Nations that exists in their countries.
- (7) Besides a constructive appraisal of the positive role that has been played by the United Nations the students should also be engaged in ongoing discussions about possible reforms in the United Nations.
 - (8) A philosophical analysis of the extent to which the existential phenomenology, cosmopolitan, capabilities, democratic, global citizenship and other development features of the facilitation pedagogy in this thesis can serve as a useful instrument for social justice analyses in established UN projects.
 - (9) A philosophical examination of the extent to which this provisional facilitation pedagogy might become more hybrid and more eclectic because of the modifications, additions and subtractions that can be brought to bear on it. For example, I personally have connected an understanding of existential freedom and existential action with the ideas of the 'capabilities approach' and democracy. This is not an incompatible connection at all. In fact, it enhances the status of the existential by making it a philosophy which is relevant to both the developed and developing worlds.
 - (10) This latter point highlights the importance of intellectual creativity on the IB programme and how thinking philosophically in the contexts of International Affairs scenarios can be rooted in the creative powers of the students. If anything, a project which is loosely TOK connected should be encouraging the students to develop their own intellectual paradigms when it comes to International Affairs analyses.
 - (11) The philosophical ideas in this thesis are intended to be piecemeal initiatives with which students can commence their own theoretical reflections. Through deeper readings and experiences of their own philosophical studies, students can become more independent and develop their own philosophical tools.
 - (12) It is important that the students are encouraged to understand but also to challenge all the premises, ideologies and formulas that are presented to them in this thesis and elsewhere. For example, the existential, the phenomenological, the 'narrative' and multiple narrative approaches' the cosmopolitan, the capabilities approach are argued for the purposes of understanding but they are also there to be challenged.

In the pursuit of the above it would be wise to get students all to work in pairs on one of the human rights texts listed below. The facilitator might suggest that they in pairs organise their own division of labour and provide a book review for a plenary where there would be a large group sharing of other book reviews pertaining to the relevance of the literature below to the questions above. Such a project would ensure that students were engaged in their own intellectual education about human rights and were being formally placed in situations where they could work out the relevance of the philosophical literature on human rights to the practical tasks above. The idea would of course be to get the students to read all the books below and provide critically thought out reviews which can be shared among the larger group. This kind of division of labour can also be conducted in the context of cooperation in

international education. The following might be a useful start but students should in the interests of greater ambition also be encouraged to research the books listed in the bibliographies of the same texts.

Anderson-Gold (2001), Audi (1989), Benhabib (2004), Brownlie & Goodwin-Gill (2002), De Feyter (2005), Dwyer (1991), Finnis (1993), Forsythe (2000), Freeman (1988), Gaita (1998), Holt (1997), Maritain (2001), Miller (2000), Savic (1999), Sellars (2002), Sen (1999, 2002), United Nations (1948), United Nations Development Programme (2002), Woodiwiss (2005)

The purpose of this UN human rights project is ‘multiple narratives’ and not anti-USA

The *US vs. UN* project alluded to above can be important for the intellectual awareness raising of IB students about the wide ranging human rights concerns of the UN. While the project is rooted in a news item which appears to be anti-USA the facilitator can ensure that her students use the ‘multiple narratives’ approaches to explore the arguments of all member nations. In the interests of bringing the explorations and research of the students alive specific students can be given the responsibility of collecting information and developing perspectives and critical understandings which support the rich variety of arguments. A good facilitator, who might not want her project just to be an extension of possible anti-Americanism in the newspaper headline, can specifically employ good IB student academics to present Ambassador John Bolton’s case as coherently and as comprehensively and effectively as possible. Of course the counter arguments to Bolton’s position would be equally welcome. Both these contestations need to be framed in debate where human rights violations or breaches or achievements are considered.

Once all the students are fully prepared they can be assigned ambassadorial roles to key nations which played key roles in the real and live UN debates. With the proper software students can access these from the internet. A brief and purposeful viewing of the UN proceedings live might bring the project alive because the students will be able to get a sense of how the UN functions and also how difficult negotiations in the UN can be. This, needless to say, will require that the teacher and her International Affairs students get to know the protocols, conventions, procedures and organs of the UN well enough to successfully secure mini-debates on the problems that inhere in

the ‘multiple narratives’ above. Unlike the real proceedings in the UN, students do not necessarily have to reach closure on any of the specific issues above. What should be most important is that the students and their facilitator take as comprehensive a look as possible at these human rights concerns which occupy the UN on a day to day basis. It would be a pity if in this mini-project the bureaucracy of the UN were allowed to dominate a meaningful discussion of the human rights issues. The project can be expanded to the size that the facilitator and her students require or demand. I do not consider a discussion on the time frames and deadlines for assignments and other responsibilities to be relevant here. Individual facilitators and their students in different schools can work out the length and extent of the project and the importance it might have in their specific curriculum.

Human Rights and Global Citizenship

Any IB facilitator worth her salt would want to ensure that her students end up with an intellectually comprehensive understanding of the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. By debating the issues above from a ‘multiple narratives’ or a multiple nation perspective the students might hopefully become familiar with the important status of the principles in the proceedings of the UN. What they also might become familiar with are the following:

- (1) The principles of the UN have far reaching normative implications for resolutions and political action in the areas of poverty, aid, climate change, nuclear weapons, trade and the International Criminal Court.
- (2) The normative dimension of the principles implies that the principles are good things which members use in debating serious issues which affect our planet.
- (3) The normative dimension suggests that the member nations share idealism and perhaps common values about how the UN and its member nations can make the world a better place.
- (4) That human rights are not just abstract principles but are there to ensure protection to individuals across the globe. In practice in recent times this has meant

the bringing to trial of the late Slobodan Milosevic who under the principle of command responsibility as President of Serbia was accused of genocide and brought to trial in the ICC for crimes against humanity.

(5) Students through contact with organisations in the UN and Amnesty International and other organisations will realise that the world on a daily basis witnesses awful violations of human rights. They will also realise that it is impossible for the UN to police each violation or to secure justice against all vigilantes and dictators. However, although the UN has its many failures or omissions it is important for the students to realise that the future of human rights and the UN lies in their own hands.

(6) While IB students are mainly citizens of particular states somewhere in the world, it will be in the interests of their awareness-raising that they explore the connection between their understanding of human rights and their understandings of their obligations as citizens of their country. This is a good point in the chapter to introduce this argument because I am just about to develop my focus on global citizenship rather than on human rights. The development of what follows certainly suggests that IB students in their awareness-raising on International Affairs issues would do well to explore the connections between human rights, citizenship and global citizenship. There are those for example like Dina Kiwan who believe that the connection between the three is not as obvious as some might think. Perhaps the student facilitator can get her students to explore the brief development of the following argument as a way of deepening their understanding of the connection between human rights on the one hand and citizenship of their country on the other. The argument develops something like this. Dina Kiwan in a paper entitled '*Human Rights and Citizenship; an Unjustifiable Conflation?*' argues that human rights cannot logically be a theoretical underpinning for citizenship regardless of how citizenship may be conceptualised (Kiwan 2003). The main thrust of her argument is that human rights discourses are located within a universalist frame of reference, in contrast to that of citizenship, which is located within a more particularist frame. She further argues that human rights are conceptually distinct from citizenship and that the conflating of human rights with citizenship is not only conceptually incoherent but

that it may also actually obstruct the empowerment and active participation of individual citizens in the context of a political community. In her conclusion she says:

In this paper, I have proposed that conceptions of citizenship can be categorised in terms of five main categories: moral, legal, identity-based, participatory and cosmopolitan. Bringing together theoretical and documentary evidence, I argue that human rights cannot logically be a theoretical underpinning for citizenship, regardless of how citizenship may be conceptualised. Whilst it is important to acknowledge the important role of human rights within the practice of active citizenship and to recognise that the practice of human rights occurs within a political community, it is inaccurate to conflate the two concepts. This is because human rights discourses are located within a universalist discourse, in contrast to citizenship, which is located within a more particularist discourse. Underpinning human rights is the notion of common humanity, based on ethical conceptualisations of the individual. In contrast, citizenship rights are underpinned by their relation to a political community, based on political conceptualisations of the individual. Human rights are conceptually distinct from citizenship rights, and the conflating of human rights with citizenship not only is conceptually incoherent but may actually obstruct the empowerment and active participation of individual citizens with the context of political community.

(Kiwani 2005 p.48)

On reading this article, there was nothing in it which could persuade me to think that because human rights are framed in a universalist discourse and citizenship was framed in a particularist discourse, it was either inaccurate or conceptually incoherent to connect the two. I believe that Kiwan exaggerates the philosophical distinctiveness and the conceptual separateness of the ethical and the political on the one hand and the universal and the particular on the other. I find there is something singularly inflexible and perhaps even philosophically unenlightened in the following:

In each case I argue that it is logically incoherent to propose that human rights should be a theoretical underpinning for citizenship. This is the case regardless of how citizenship is conceptualised --- whether morally, legally, in terms of identity or participation or indeed even when conceptualised more universally as 'cosmopolitan' citizenship. This is because, fundamentally, citizenship is always defined in terms of membership within a political community, in contrast to human rights, which are based on membership of common humanity, or in other words, an ethical community.

(Kiwani 2005 p.48)

There is something about Kiwan's thinking above which suggests that she has no sense of global citizenship and she probably also believes that something like this

hardly exists and that if it does exist, she certainly believes it lacks authority. Her belief that 'citizenship is always defined in terms of membership within a political community' is something that many of us in my international school are trying to get away from. We, certainly at my IB College like promoting the idea of both citizenship of a sovereign state and the idea of citizenship of an international community because it implies that we care not only about the people in our own state but also about people in other states. Technically Kiwan is probably correct in saying that citizenship is very much defined in terms of the political community such as the nation state. However, there are many with a cosmopolitan cast of mind who also want to see citizenship in cosmopolitan or global citizenship terms. Perhaps if Kiwan saw things in more metaphorical terms she might be able to agree with the cosmopolitans who believe that our membership of the United Nations in a sense confers global citizenship upon us. Unfortunately Kiwan juxtaposes the universalist and particularist as if the universal and the particular were poles apart and had very little to do with each other. I wonder whether this isn't a position which is tied to a kind of philosophical absolutism which is unhelpful when one is trying to forge links or possible agreements between the two poles. There also seems to be no sense of economic or political globalisation or any sense of the trans-national in her thinking, and even less, any sense of overlap between the ethical and the political. She is reluctant to link the idea of citizenship with the international community who believe in the importance and relevance of the UDHR for the entire human race. Perhaps the best response to her paper is to say that it has a narrow sense of sovereignty and an even narrower sense of the connection between morality and the global economy.

Perhaps this is an appropriate point in the chapter to shift the attention towards the heightened human rights idealism which we find in global citizenship philosophy but before doing so it would be in the interests of more profound facilitation if the students were challenged to argue against my criticisms of Kiwan's position. This would not too difficult to facilitate in my educational context because I have often heard students defend their Chinese or Russian or Kazakh politicians with arguments connected to Kiwan's insights. Their argument has often been that their politicians and leaders in China should not feel they have a case to defend against Amnesty International or human rights activists and their invocations which are articulated by so called global citizens or cosmopolitans. They further argue that their leaders in

their countries have to deal with all sorts of political difficulties which those cosmopolitans or human rights activists in the Amnesty International group know nothing about. I have often listened to these and similar arguments and one of my standard responses has been to say that the Afrikaner Nationalists and their supporters in the Apartheid era used to say that Mandela was a terrorist because he wanted human rights for all South Africans irrespective of race, religion and creed. I also emphasise that if it were not for the cosmopolitans in the UN and those 'global citizens / world citizens' in the Anti-Apartheid movement outside the borders of South Africa that sanctions might never have been imposed on South Africa and the country might not have attained democracy when it did. I have also added that many South African white leaders including the former President have apologised for Apartheid since the emergence of the democratic South Africa in 1994.

This seems to be drifting away from Kiwan's argument but the connection is certainly philosophically valuable. Kiwan could never be associated with any of the Chinese, Kazakh or Apartheid insinuations above. Far from it, she believes in human rights and the idea of an international ethical community. Her distinctions are technical or linguistic or semantic or philosophical but as far as I am concerned her arguments can, if not properly understood, weaken the case for many global citizens who like to see all people as citizens of one world. In an international school this is an attractive idea and the philosophy of global citizenship gives both students and teachers a common language of concern and idealism in their international endeavours.

Global citizenship philosophy and its implications for the facilitation of International Affairs scenarios

Global citizenship literature has proliferated in recent years and is multidisciplinary and multi-focused in its multiple approaches. In a short chapter which also attempts to deal with human rights considerations it would not be wise to attempt to deal with all these issues. For the purpose of the facilitation of International Affairs scenarios global citizenship philosophy throughout this chapter implies the following:

- (1) That all IB teachers and students can play an active role as global citizens if they engage with others in attempting to make the world a better place. In the context

of the IB curriculum, the CAS programme offers students a wonderful opportunity to connect with the local and the international issues which abound in this thesis (Held 1995, 2002) (Halabi 2004)

(2) This attempt to make the world a better place can be connected to dialogues between people or awareness raising projects which abound in this thesis. Further, it is an important point to suggest that global citizenship philosophy offers IB students and the IB programme more because it challenges them in the following ways:

(a) It challenges them to think of themselves not just as a member of a particular nation state but rather as a member of the international community (Hayden & Thompson 1998a) (Kymlicka & Norman 2000).

(b) This might mean that students as global citizens become interested in not only the concerns of their country or state but rather more in what might be in the best interests of the international community. This point could of course lead the students to engage with the idea that global citizenship is a contested topic because there are those who might say that citizenship is not global and can never be global because there is no such thing as a world state (Crick 2000). Citizenship, these critics believe, is connected to a specific state and not to some mythical global community. The facilitator of course might get her students to challenge this technical and possibly pedantic approach by considering that there is nothing wrong with the idea of teachers and students in an age of economic globalisation viewing themselves as global citizens.

In pursuit of this goal different students can in pairs or even larger groups do book reviews on the under-mentioned literature which supports many of the ideas on global citizenship in this chapter. The list is rich and varied so should provide the students with ‘multiple narratives’ and other exchanges on global citizenship. These texts can be made available to the students and might include some of the following:

Alton (2001), Annan (2000), Arthur (2003), Bailey (2000), Bauman (1993), Baylis & Smith (2005), Beck (1998), Beiner (1995), Clark (1999), Colas (2002), Cooper (2004), De Greef & Cronin (2002), Dower (2002, 2003), Francis (2002), Gaita (1998), Gardels (1997), Gearon (2003), George & Wilding (2002), Gibney (2003),

Giddens & Hutton (2001), Glasius, Kaldor & Anheier (2002), Goldsmith & Mander (2001), Goldstone (2000), Goodin (2003), Govier (2002), Hanvey (1976), Havel (1985), Held (1995, 2002), Held & McGrew (2004), Houghton (1997), Huntingdon (1996), Johnson (1997), Johnson (2000), Kagan (2003), Keane (2003), Kung (1991, 1996, 1998), Kymlicka & Norman (2000), Lawton, Cairns & Gardner (2000), Legrain (2002), Martin & Schumann (1996), Mayo (2005), Shea (2000), Stiglitz (2002)

They can argue, albeit from a metaphorical perspective, that there is a case for global citizenship but those who wish to contest this position should feel free to do so. My view which I articulate below, I might use as a catalyst for discussion. These views reflect how I imagine young students in the UK might see themselves playing the role of a global citizen.

I am a UK citizen and I believe as a UK citizen I want to play a role in improving the quality of life for the citizens of my local community by joining the local environmental action group. Further, I see this personally as my way of doing something as a responsible citizen of the UK. I do not see my role technically in terms of what good citizenship is or might be. I am more concerned about positive, collaborative and constructive intervention in the local environment so that the lives of local residents might be improved. The fact that I am a UK citizen has about as much bearing on my activity as the fact that in the UK I am allowed to vote. What is more important is that my endeavours are inspired by my humanity and what it demands of me. I also find it useful to talk about my rights and duties as a citizen of the UK because these considerations give my activities some kind of formal justification. But I am also a practising Moslem and I believe that I am primarily inspired by the Koran in the same way that my Jewish or Christian friends might be inspired by their Holy Books. There are other factors too. I have also been inspired by my Geography and Environmental Systems teachers. A number of them are atheists but some of them are Christians and Jews. We all have one thing in common and that is we feel that we have some kind of obligation to make our own community better. We also believe that our responsibility should not end there but that it should also take us abroad where the need in some instances might be greater.

It is against this background that many believe in global citizenship. They would rather not be bogged down by trivial distinctions as to whether there is global citizenship or not but would rather follow a course of existential commitment and action in the pursuit of helping humanity in some constructive way.

Human Rights, Global Citizenship and International Affairs education

Without wishing to be exclusive there is a sense in which intellectually gifted students on an IB programme would not find it difficult to understand the existential

phenomenological approach and its accompanying connections and how it has been applied throughout the thesis. Against the background of the awareness-raising which has so far taken place in this chapter it would by no means be too ambitious a task to get the more intellectually gifted students to teach the lesser gifted how to use the phenomenological approach in International Affairs scenarios. As ought to be clear from the above, global citizens are individuals who see human rights concerns as central to understandings about personal, social, national and international justice. There is sense therefore in which these gifted IB citizens to whom I allude can as global citizens read and understand the contents of this thesis. They could also play a constructive role in teaching or enabling their peers to understand how the existential phenomenological approach is used throughout the thesis but also how it might be used in the small case study on the UN in this chapter. They can also teach the students how the existential phenomenological approach can be used in a variety of other scenarios.

The student facilitators can be assigned added responsibilities for the following:

- (1) Explain and develop strategies to teach their peers how the existential phenomenological approach is used in South African, Chinese, Iraqi and Israel / Palestine International Affairs scenarios which follow this chapter.
- (2) Show how the human rights and global citizenship concerns of this chapter are relevant to their wanting more justice, greater fairness and the possibilities of peace and reconciliation in many parts of the world (Boraine 2000) (Dower 2002, 2003).
- (3) How important it is that they as existential subjects need to have a clear idea as to the importance of human rights considerations if they are going to be able to deal intelligently with UN and other International Affairs scenarios (Hauss 2004).
- (4) How the overlap between human rights concerns and the content of global citizenship philosophy indicates a common moral content which implies that IB students in an existential way have in a sense a duty to try to make this world better than it is (Held 1995, 2002) (Arthur & Wright 2003).

(5) Explain how understandings of human rights and global citizenship considerations will also help the students to achieve a clearer understanding of the bias, propaganda, indoctrination and other concerns of Chapters Seven and Eight (De Greef & Cronin 2002)

Chapter Five

The facilitation of human rights understandings on South Africa and China

Introduction

One of the advantages of an existential phenomenological facilitation pedagogy which is connected to a ‘multiple narratives’ approach in International Affairs education is that if it is properly employed and developed, the reader or the observer of International Affairs scenarios will get a good idea as to why opponents are or were in ongoing conflict with each other. This is always helpful if one wants to understand the tensions that exist in a society. In this section, the ‘narratives’ that emerge will be connected to the facilitation of ‘Human Rights’ understandings featuring South Africa and China. For the International Affairs observer this might seem to be a strange conflation of unlikely scenarios but in a clearly defined framework where human rights violations or injustices are compared, it is not. South Africa will be treated in a minimalist way as a scenario of examples of how a voiceless, oppressed and exploited majority became free through the dissidence and activism of its own citizens and also the power and moral support of the United Nations and the international community (Mandela 1986, 1993, 1994, 2001). Once that has been done, the human rights violations in China are looked at, then a variety of philosophical, moral and educational issues between the two scenarios can be compared and contrasted (Medeiros and Cliff 2005), (Nathan & Gilley 2003), (Perry and Selden 2000), (Rossabi 2004), (Saich 2004), (Smil 2004). This exercise which is intended to involve a facilitated exercise in critical thinking will be also supported briefly by the use of the philosophical approach which is employed throughout this project. It is important therefore that comparing and contrasting two scenarios is not understood as my saying that China should receive the same treatment that was justifiably meted out to the South African regime towards the end of the Apartheid era. Comparing and contrasting in this chapter is intended to facilitate a discussion which might lead to deeper understandings. In order to commence the facilitation of this exercise in IB understandings of two International Affairs scenarios, the facilitator can initially ask her students to research the following:

(1) How the majority of non-White South Africans lived and protested against human rights violations under Apartheid between 1948 and 1994. The anguish, suffering, humiliation and protests have been well catalogued. The 'multiple narratives' have been well represented in the following:

Boraine (2000), Brink & Malungane (2001), Dean, Hartzmann & Katzen (1983), Denman (1985), Dlamini (1984), Dubow (2000), Eberhard & van Horen (1995), Giliomee (2003), Goldstone (2000), Guelke (2005), Hadland & Rantao (1999), Holland (1989), Hopkins & Grange (2001), Mandela (1986, 1993, 1994, 2001), Meredith, (1988, 1997), Moodie (1975), Moodie, Dunbar & Ndatshe (1994), Ndlovu (1998), Pinchuk (1994), Roberts (1990), Rose & Tunmer (1975), Rotberg & Thompson (2000), Sampson (2000), Seekings (2000), Sparks (1990), Turner (2000), Van Jaarsveld (1964), Verwoerd & Villa-Vicencio (2000), Welsh (1990), Worden (1998, 2000)

(2) What Apartheid and white rule meant for the majority of South Africa in terms of political participation, housing and accommodation, education, job opportunities, economic opportunities, ownership of land, the judicial system and the migrant labour system.

(3) What the United Nations and the International Banks did in order to exert pressure on the Apartheid Government to scrap apartheid, to release Nelson Mandela and to hold open and free elections. The students will be asked to explore the role of both economic and political sanctions against South Africa (Johnson 2000) (Johnson and Welsh 1998).

(4) How eventually internal resistance by the UDF, the ANC, the Trade Unions, the Churches and many other organisations led to talks between P.W. Botha, De Klerk and Mandela which resulted in Mandela's release in 1990 and open and free elections in 1994 (Seekings 2000).

(5) How despite all sorts of positive news about South Africa's non-racial democracy or Rainbow Nation, as some would call it, there is still a lot of work to be done in the area of land distribution, affirmative action and greater social justice. Concerns regarding Aids, violence, unemployment and organised crime are also issues which the students can be asked to focus on (Boraine 2000) (Brink &

Malungane 2001) (Deegan 1999) (Eberhard & Van Horen 1995) May (2000) (Meredith 1999).

(6) As phenomenology plays an important role in this thesis it is important that the brand of my phenomenology is compared to the brand of phenomenology which was central to studies in the philosophy of education known as 'Fundamental Pedagogics' in the Apartheid era (Landman & Gous 1969) (Langeveld 1959) (Morrow 1989) (Viljoen & Pienaar 1971) (Vandenberg 1971, 1997) (Wolin 1990, 1998). As opposed to the brand of phenomenology which was compatible with Afrikaner Nationalist ideology and apartheid, the phenomenology in this thesis is not compatible with racism, inequality, discrimination and an aversion to democracy. Fortunately today 'Fundamental Pedagogics' as it is studied and developed in South African education has been stripped of all of its racist connections (Wagid 2005). In the interests of critical thinking about phenomenology in the context of Apartheid South Africa this would be a useful exercise which might be challenging to the more philosophically astute IB students.

The facilitation of these South African concerns

In order to facilitate the South African project expertly, the six questions can be appropriately distributed to individuals or groups of individuals who will be asked to accept responsibility for reporting back after a week or two. If the reading is specifically directed at specific chapters in a variety of authoritative texts and the research is shared among the students who are studying or who are interested in studying history this is not an unrealistic task. The time schedule will depend very much on how pressed they might be in their other subjects so one can be flexible here and perhaps ask for the research to be presented on the first three questions in one week and the remaining three in two weeks. In any event, the time considerations need to be negotiated and the speedier and more intelligent readers perhaps need to be given the most intellectually challenging and demanding reading to do. One does not need to burden students who might be out of their depth in such a project so requesting volunteers is always a step in the right direction. Further to this, in the interests of enhancing critical thinking, the students can be asked to do their own explorations as they see fit but then they can also be asked to use the existential

phenomenological approach and its accompanying elements which pervade this thesis.

This will mean perhaps also asking certain students to focus exclusively on different elements which might mainly include the existential and the phenomenological but also the philosophical ideas which have been associated with this approach. This might mean the following:

(1) In the context of the existential, it could mean focusing on how certain activists like Steve Biko and Mandela put themselves at risk in such a way that Biko was murdered and Mandela was sent to prison for twenty seven years. The lives of others who might have been part of the resistance or in fact the oppressive state apparatus should not be overlooked. The students need to explore how fierce the struggle against apartheid was and how both the Afrikaner Nationalists and the militants were committed to their objectives (Giliomee 2003).

(2) From a phenomenological point of view the students can be asked to look at the 'narratives' of both black and white South Africans. The focus can be on how the black majority and the white minority lived under Apartheid. Needless to say, the differing standards of living and the contrasting quality of lives of the different racial groups need to be the focus of attention. If the students read documentation on the racist allocation of government funding during the Apartheid era they just might realise how this area of government action promoted white interests at the expense of the majority of South Africans.

(3) From the point of view of human rights, which is really what the facilitation in this chapter is all about, the students can explore how apartheid rendered the lives of black people dysfunctional because the law only provided a very scanty protection of their human rights (Sampson 2000). Human rights can perhaps be explored in a comprehensive and holistic sense and the students can be steered in the direction of discovering how Apartheid impacted on the lives of the majority in social, legal, educational, economic and personal respects. More specifically in terms of Nussbaum's ideas on the capabilities approach it would be most useful if the students

researched the relevance of her approach to the conditions of women in the South Africa of both yesterday and today (Nussbaum 2000).

How fundamental human rights understandings are to the application of the capabilities approach and the global citizenship aspects of the philosophical ideas in this thesis needs to be pointed out. By this stage the students will no doubt already have had some tuition in these philosophical understandings because they will have seen it in action in scenarios which include analyses in the contexts of 'Global Citizenship' and 'Human Rights'.

Further to these experiences, the students can be encouraged to explore how, through the implementation of human rights and democracy, life has become better for the majority of South Africans. This idea also should be scrutinised by the critical thinker who sees human rights as essential to flourishing as a human being and as a citizen. How apartheid legally, socially, economically and politically discriminated against the majority of South Africans needs to be understood and debated. What needs to also be the focus of attention is the number of successful South African projects which have resulted in the empowerment of women in recent times. The relevance of Nussbaum's approach can also be explored (Nussbaum 2000).

In order to bring this alive the facilitator can get individual students to research, discuss and perhaps even role play the lived experiences of the following:

(A) South African Black women and their children who had to remain in the Homelands or Bantustans because they were not allowed to join their husbands and fathers in the cities. This of course can serve as material for student written dramatic sketches which can be told as stories or dramatised by those who are talented in this way.

(B) Coloured or Indian or White South Africans who felt that the South African Government's policy of divide and rule was affecting their relationship with the majority of Black South Africans.

(C) The ‘multiple narratives’ of the unemployed, the imprisoned, the militants, the bereaved, the banned, the poor, the tortured and those forced into exile can also be a rich resource for dramatic collaborations. Existential phenomenological understandings rooted in literature and journalism and history can reveal why and what motivated the resistance to apartheid.

Some practical approaches for the facilitator

(1) Needless to say dramatic representations can in the context of International Affairs take the form of short sketches rather than cumbersome dramatic productions.

(2) In keeping with the ‘multiple narratives’ philosophy of this thesis it is important that the students get a good idea of what both oppressors and the oppressed experienced in multi-racial, multi-religious and highly stratified South African society. Perhaps the facilitator can ensure that the students become engaged in a variety of activities which might include role play, dramatic sketches and debate.

(3) From another perspective it is important for the students to read about the positive achievements and successes in reconciliation, peace and democracy that have taken place in recent years. Significant achievements abound in the following:

Deegan (1999), De Klerk (2000), Johnson (2000), Johnson & Welsh (1998), Tutu (1994, 1999, 2004), Wilson (2001), Woods (2000)

Further, the extended CNN documentary done by Jim Clancy on 16 July 2006 can reveal how many leading South Africans in all walks of life are mainly positive and proud of the progress that has been made in the last 12 years under the ANC. The facilitator can get her students to view this programme and also get them to consider both critical and constructive reviews of it before making up their minds on progress under the ANC.

Facilitation for story telling, philosophical skill and critical thinking

It always helps if the IB facilitator of International Affairs is a good story teller and it also helps if she is a good facilitator of both story telling and philosophical

understandings. This is all necessary if she is going to facilitate storytelling, philosophical skill and critical thinking on the above issues. Primarily, the purpose of this point is to ensure that the facilitator can enable her students to become good storytellers too. This will serve them well in the exploration of the 'narrative' and the 'multiple narratives' approaches which are essential to a deeper understanding of the philosophical and political and educational content of this project.

But further to these research and critical thinking enterprises on South Africa what the 'Human Rights' emphasis should also require is that the students explore how in the new South Africa the acceptance and consolidation of human rights in the new constitution has caused a kind of unprecedented flourishing which has secured the following:

- (1) Black people are taking up positions of seniority and responsibility in government, the civil service, commerce, industry and education and many other walks of life.
- (2) Blacks have become members of leading professional, sporting, scientific and cultural and arts organisations.
- (3) Blacks have become role models in all professional, technical and artistic layers of society.
- (4) Blacks now have access to the courts and have equality before the law in South African society. Because human rights are now part of the South African constitution all people can appeal against injustices which might have been practised or perpetuated against them. They can also appeal to the courts to deal with land claims going back to the Apartheid era. Perhaps the students might be encouraged to explore how far back in history today's citizens of South Africa are entitled to make land claims.
- (5) Many Blacks are now involved in social justice projects throughout the society and are working on behalf of all ethnic groups in South Africa.

(6) Black resistance produced Mandela who has become an international spokesman on the international stage; especially more recently on the matter of Aids. South Africa has now become more credible as a nation because it is known now more for its social justice achievements than for its oppressive and ruthlessly unjust apartheid system.

The positive point to come out of all of this is that the facilitator can get her students to focus on how a human rights agenda has empowered many more blacks than was the case under apartheid. The critics of this point may well argue that there is still too much poverty and injustice in South Africa. This is true but from a facilitator's perspective her getting her students to explore how things are better for the majority of the people would serve as a relevant contribution to a discussion on an important topic. The students could also explore ideas which suggest that the present ANC government could hardly have been expected to correct the legacy of inequalities and injustices under apartheid in just over a decade. There is much literature on this issue which the facilitator can encourage her students to explore.

The facilitation of the students must be placed in critical thinking perspective

Through discovery learning and an investigative and analytical approach embedded in the questions discussed above, students can learn that through the liberation struggle Black South Africans were able to have a vision of hope and they were also able to dream about tomorrow. This is true of the South African liberation struggle but it also tells us that this struggle has implications not only for South Africa but also for other societies. This is articulated in a profoundly compatible passage which insists on the following:

Critically reading the world is a political-pedagogical doing; it is inseparable from the pedagogical-political, that is, from political action that involves the organization of groups and of the popular classes in order to intervene in the reinventing of society.

Denouncing and announcing, when part of the process of critically reading the world, give birth to the dream for which one fights. The dream or vision, whose profile becomes clear in the process of critically analyzing the reality one denounces, is a practice that transforms society, just as the drawings of a unit a factory worker has to build, which he or she has in his or her head before making it, makes possible the actual manufacturing of the unit.

In keeping with my democratic position, I am convinced that discussion around the dream or vision of the society for which we struggle is not a privilege of the dominant elites or of progressive political leaderships. On the contrary, participating in the debates on a vision for a different world is a right of the popular classes, who must not be simply “guided” or pushed toward a dream by their leadership.

(Freire 2004 pp 18-19)

In the style and philosophical insightfulness typical of Freire, this quotation highlights how much it takes for a people to become liberated. South Africa has been liberated through hard political graft. It remains to be seen how much hard work needs to be done to get the equivalent result, if ever, in China. Further, the existential facilitator will leave these analyses which might include value judgements on good and bad and right and wrong, just and unjust and legal and illegal up to the students. She will also get them to challenge the validity and credibility of the comparing and contrasting of South Africa and China in terms of the above human rights understandings.

The facilitation of a human rights connection between South Africa and China

The facilitation of the understanding of a variety of narratives which connect the South African ‘Human Rights’ scenario to the Chinese ‘Human Rights’ scenario can be a useful philosophical exercise which might enable students to forge philosophical connections between the lives of the oppressed as they were in South Africa under Apartheid and the lives of the majority of the people as they exist in China today. When the facilitator does this she has to be careful because one cannot assume that it is a philosophically sound thing to do. Perhaps what is a philosophically proper thing to do is to recognise that the lack of freedom in a society is often accompanied by an absence of human rights that is connected to a lack of protection. It is certainly philosophically sound to show how a lack of human rights and injustice in both societies were, and, in the case of China, still are, connected. This is also not the same as saying that South Africa now has very little work to do in the area of human rights. Human rights concerns will continue to trouble citizens in most countries in the world.

From a phenomenological perspective the facilitator can encourage her students to explore dissident websites on the internet and all other democratic websites on the

internet which call for the same democratic freedoms that the students and other citizens were calling for at Tiananmen Square. Because this is a considerable task the facilitator should encourage her students to explore the complaints that hundreds of millions of Chinese citizens might have about the Chinese state today. In order to make the exercise a constructive one, she might ask the students to work in small groups or pairs to investigate websites and return with their findings the following week. Needless to say, the websites of Chinese citizens in exile can also be investigated by Chinese speaking IB students from mainland China, Taiwan and Hong Kong. Further, the research of reputable newspapers online in the English and Chinese speaking worlds might deliver up to date information. The fact that there is limited press freedom in China and that internet sites are not always reliable will no doubt challenge the critical thinking skills of the young IB researchers.

Although the students can be encouraged to explore these following issues comprehensively, it might be wise if the facilitator were to allocate no more than one item to individual students or even different groups of students within the larger group. This specific and limited workload can ensure that the students return to the plenary well prepared and well armed with their findings. In a sense the really collaborative and holistic education will start when the students share their findings with each other in a plenary situation.

This work can also be allocated to pairs of international students rather than just the Chinese students. This is after all a project in the name of international education rather than just Chinese student education. Further, it is important that all these issues are explored in consultation with the Chinese students and in a culturally sensitive way. This can take place well in advance of the commencement of the project.

It is also a good idea in the name of facilitation for the students to be equipped with good and relevant questions connected to human rights violations. They can raise their own questions but it will also be a good thing if they begin their research with relevant questions which might include the following:

(1) Death Penalty

Is Amnesty International right in its claims that China executes more than 10 000 people a year? What do the students make of Amnesty's further claim that in any three month period China kills more of its own citizens than the rest of the world does over three years? The students can further research whether it is true that those executed have been found guilty of offences such as bribery, embezzlement and stealing petrol. Other issues for exploration might be: 'Is it true that innocent people are frequently killed? Is there any evidence to suggest that most of these executions are carried out at rallies which take place in front of massive crowds' (Doyle & Russell 2005)? What will be important throughout this mini-project on China is that both the facilitator and her students look critically at the evidence presented in reputable journalism or in scholarly work on China such as that which is listed in the bibliography. Since the journalistic evidence in this chapter is taken from the *UK Independent* it might be a good idea if the students email the relevant journalists to find out about the reliability of their sources. Amnesty International, The European Union, The United Nations, The Chinese Embassies and Government and other reputable resources on China might also be worth exploring. Some of these organisations mainly have a good reputation for engaging openly with citizens from all over the world. While their claims might not necessarily be accurate, the students can collate substantial information about life in China. This will certainly serve the plenary well. The students in the interests of a realistic understanding of Chinese politics might learn that much of the information they receive might be contradictory.

If the facilitator is going to facilitate this project effectively and successfully, the most authoritative sources need to be explored but needless to say the fact that China is not a democracy and is also not an open society could make all of this quite difficult. Where the South Africa of the Apartheid era and the China of today definitely differ is that in the former there were the Churches and the liberal media and anti-apartheid activists of various ethnicities and persuasions who kept the debate about the evils of apartheid alive both nationally and internationally. Invariably the evidence backing up their arguments was strong and reliable. The IB student researchers in the context of China today might perhaps learn that evidence collecting might be less reliable and less accurate because of oppression and perhaps more rigid censorship.

(2) Torture

In a project of this nature it has been my experience that our college librarians and ICT staff have been a tower of strength. If these personnel are brought into the project the students have a much better chance of getting access to the best political and human rights journalism which can be in the college library, other libraries and the most up to date and effective search engines. They can certainly assist the students in their efforts to find out whether there is any evidence in reputable journalism or academic research to suggest that torture is quite common place in Chinese prisons. Other searches might involve the students looking for authoritative reports which suggest that police psychiatrists systematically misdiagnose political dissidents, religious nonconformists, persistent complainers and petitioners, independent trade unionists, and whistleblowers against corruption as being 'dangerously mentally ill'. The IB student researchers might also learn that these people are treated in mental asylums.

(3) Armed Force

Perhaps the students can ask themselves why China protests that it is a peace loving country while it is at the moment the third or fourth mightiest military power in the world. Some students might of course like to explore the Chinese government's riposte which might be that China is a peace loving country because although it is the biggest country in the world it only has the fourth largest army. Further, the students can explore other military developments which suggest that China is a strategic nuclear force, its navy is moving into the open seas and in recent times it has unveiled a new attack submarine and a new light battleship. USA concerns that the European Union and other nations should not sell China cutting-edge military technology could form an interesting part of a wider debate. This of course needs to be argued alongside Chinese views that such protectionism constitutes political discrimination of the worst sort. Specific groups of students can be asked to research and explain or even contradict reports on Chinese sabre-rattling against Taiwan and even Japan. A 'multiple narratives' approach which includes arguments alongside counter arguments is the best way to proceed fairly in these explorations.

(4) Tibet

Further, those students in the International Affairs group who might also be in the College Amnesty International group might want to explore the disappearances and torture of supporters of the Dalai Lama. In addition, those students with a passion for history might wish to explore the following claims:

- (a) President Hu Jintao ruled as Communist Party secretary with a rod of iron from 1988 to 1992 when hundreds of Tibetans were killed or imprisoned
- (b) Hu Jintao's view that Tibet had been an "inalienable part of Chinese territory" since the 13th century
- (c) Hu Jintao's challenge to the Dalai Lama to "renounce his Tibetan independence proposition and do something useful and beneficial for his country"

(5) Xinjiang

The students need to be encouraged to explore claims that China has cracked down on religious practitioners and activists in the mostly Muslim autonomous region of Xinjiang. These claims can be explored alongside further claims which suggest that these same people have been abused in prisons and "re-education through labour" camps. Further, critics of the system have maintained for some time that an unknown number of these above dissidents have been executed while detainees have been given electric shocks and been beaten with shackles and kicked unconscious.

What the students can also explore connected to the above is the idea that China's support for the "war on terrorism" will gain it international support or at least silence for its own crackdown.

(6) Censorship

Students can be asked to explore the following claims:

- (a) Falun Gong and certain Protestant groups face severe repression.
- (b) Freedom of thought, conscience and religion are restricted.
- (c) No organisation could challenge the Communist Party's control over aspects of society it deems crucial.
- (d) Google has agreed to Beijing demands to exclude 'objectionable' links.
- (e) Microsoft stops internet users searching for words like democracy, freedom, human rights or demonstration.

Doyle, L and Russell, B (2005) *Independent* Tuesday 8 November 2005

(7) Pollution

Students can explore the extent to which China is one of the greatest polluters of the planet behind the USA. What might be more alarming is the extent to which the Chinese economy will need even far more oil and other natural resources and raw materials as its economy grows in the years to come.

(McCarthy 2005, *Independent* Wednesday 19 October 2005)

A good facilitator might use many of the above criticisms of the Chinese Government as fuel for dialogue, disagreement, counter-argument and critique in what will be a spur to multiple counter-arguments to what are rather initial positions in ongoing discussions. In the interests of comprehensive facilitation it is really important that all of the above are seen as contestable and therefore critiqued in the interests of the students minimising bias and propaganda in their explorations.

The moral dilemmas facing the facilitator on human rights in China

Once the students have done their explorations, it is quite possible that the facilitator could be faced with the fact that the Chinese speakers in the group could be extremely unhappy with the portrayals of their country. She could also find that such a facilitated project could be bad for the business of the IB College because certain parents who are invariably members of the communist party or at least have communist party connections might decide to withdraw their child from the school. From another perspective, they might not decide to withdraw their child from the college but they

might in future ensure that their business agents no longer do business with that particular school. These issues in some specific colleges are highly important because Chinese students can be the most numerous and in some instances they might also be the most reliable source of income. The economic survival of the college might depend in certain instances on their Chinese market.

From the perspective of the aims of the International Baccalaureate curriculum there are a number of other dilemmas facing the IB facilitator of International Affairs education and these could include the following:

(1) Does she include all of the above in the curriculum content of her International Affairs facilitation on China and risk alienating the support of the Chinese students?

(2) Does she just ask the students to do the research without any compulsory follow up activity? This can soften the blow of the Chinese students having to listen to other nationalities talking with incomprehension, surprise and perhaps even moral disgust at the injustices which prevail in China.

(3) In order to include a follow up activity, might it not be a better idea to get the students voluntarily to write an essay which is a personal response to the content of the questions and the answers so that the already uncomfortable Chinese students do not feel under enormous pressure to digest something they find indigestible? Or is this approach a cop out and a serious abdication of moral and political and educational responsibility?

(4) Does she hold a full plenary where all the students spell out their research findings? If she does, she might then follow this up by claiming that the anti-Chinese government comments need to be understood and possibly contested against the background of the following:

(a) They could be propaganda so until such time that these reports have been verified by a variety of UN appointed bodies or other reputable organisations they need to be treated with circumspection. Perhaps the Chinese students can play a constructive role in providing counter arguments which have been packaged by

Chinese political intelligence organisations. These needless to say can be summarised and translated into English by the Chinese students.

(b) If many of the above negative claims about China are true, it needs to be recognised that the democratic governance of over a billion people is not a task that any other government in the world has to face. To get things in perspective it might be a good idea for the facilitator to look at the poverty and squalor of the underbelly of USA society that emerged in the wake of Hurricane Katrina. The USA is one of the most powerful and one the richest nations in the democratic world yet with all its talk about democracy, it still has an eyesore of this magnitude on its landscape. Against this background, it could be argued that going the democratic route might not necessarily deliver economic progress or political justice in China. These are obviously not cosmopolitan arguments but they are arguments that people who are experiencing intellectual difficulties might come up with. They also might be arguments presented by practical politicians who believe they understand the difficulties facing China. A facilitator who wants to play a helpful role in debate might well want to emphasise these considerations. In so doing, she might also think it necessary to examine her conscience on how she is facilitating. With the benefit of hindsight she might want to ask herself to what extent she needs to take a moral stance on these issues if her students are reluctant to do so. I personally for example recall making myself unpopular with certain students and certain lecturers in an all-white teacher's college in Natal because I spoke about the evils of Apartheid. I made myself even more unpopular when I ran conferences on Black Education and invited Black guest speakers who spoke out even more fiercely than I had. I am mentioning these considerations because taking a moral stand on certain issues such as torture in China might trouble the facilitator who wants to do justice to both the issues and the process of facilitation. Perhaps the facilitator's integrity and ability to take a moral stand might be called into question if she is challenged by students who want more than just the technical processes of facilitation. Perhaps the whole process of facilitation could be morally flawed if the facilitator is more interested in facilitation than the exposure of injustices. There are some who might argue that a skilful facilitator can set things up in such away that the 'multiple narratives' of injustice are dealt with by the students in their discussions with each other. This is a very important juncture to consider that the existential phenomenological approach with all its

normative concerns will not allow either the students or the facilitator teacher to get away with a value free approach. The reader might want to explore my ideas further on before arriving at a decision on whether justice in China has been dealt with in an appropriate way or not.

(c) Chinese political development has to be managed and controlled carefully and the concerns of outsiders such as cosmopolitans who want a democratic human rights constitution for China as soon as possible might be ignorant of Chinese history, culture and customs. The Chinese Communist Party, she might argue, knows what is good for China. Some might argue that this is not a defensible moral position and as such it endorses a form of moral relativism. This certainly is a position that the students and the facilitator ought to consider in their 'multiple narratives' approach towards this complex problem. What they would also like to consider is that some of the more radical alternatives to this view might have a highly destabilising affect on China. For example, the facilitator might add that the Chinese economy is growing ten times faster than any other economy in the world and then she might proceed to argue how this will be disrupted and derailed if political plans aimed at undermining the Chinese state are put in place. In making this point she might wish to quote the following:

Given the Chinese elite's preoccupation with national stability, in the light of their turbulent national history and the closely watched disintegration of the Soviet Union during Gorbachev's political reforms, I believe it is correct to take a long term, diplomatic approach to the matter of improvement of human rights in China. I believe we should use the international law of human rights as a guide for diplomacy and a goal for China's evolution. But in the absence of another massacre as in Tiananmen Square in 1989, or some comparable gross violation of human rights, I believe that constructive engagement is the right general orientation.

(Forsythe 2000 p.229)

Of course there are many who read the above who will say that the injustices reported in the *UK Independent* constitute the gross violations that Forsythe alludes to in the quotation above. Some of these readers might also argue that the facilitation process will only be effective and impressive if justice is done to the theme of injustice in China.

(d) Some commentators might argue that Westerners don't understand the Chinese mindset which is really anti-individualistic. Individualism they argue is alien to Chinese culture, and so a theory of rights founded on such individualism will find no support in Chinese society. As Professor Gong Xiangrui of Beijing University put it in a presentation at the University of Hong Kong:

In China, it is the state that comes first, the collective second, and the individual the last. If any conflict should occur, the collective benefit (such as that of the family, the school and the union) should be sacrificed for the state's interest: similarly the individual's personal interest should give way to the interest of the collectives and the state. This proposition has consistently maintained since the time of Sun Yatsen to that of Mao Zedong; it has its historical background too. Old China was a country oppressed by the great Powers – the imperialists. For example, Hong Kong Island was ceded to the United Kingdom under the unequal Treaty of Nanking. Therefore, the first objective of the revolution was to attain independence and liberation of the nation. Although great changes have taken place since 1949, and the Chinese people are now standing up, independently and equally, among the nations, the above beliefs remain the same. A popular saying is that under socialism the interest of the state, of the collective, and of the individuals are in general harmony. If any conflict arises, the interests of the individual are subject to those of the collectives and the state. Putting, the individual first is sometimes called individualism, and sometimes condemned as 'bourgeois-liberalization'. (Davis 1995 p.64)

(e) From another perspective, it is important that the facilitator is not seen to be obsequious in the interests of mollifying the Chinese lobby in her school. Her facilitator's philosophical approach can rescue her from these accusations if that is how she is coming across to the students who are appalled at what they have read and heard. The facilitator needs to defend her role by insisting that her facilitator's role is a dynamic role which involves getting her students to explore 'multiple narratives' on China in the same way as she sees it as her duty to get the students to explore the 'multiple narratives' on human rights and global citizenship concerns. This was partly and only briefly demonstrated in the previous chapter. Teachers can sometimes play the role of gadfly when they engage their students in discussions on controversial issues. On this basis a facilitator needn't be held to anything she might say. Facilitating in this sense is not necessarily about giving your views on a topic; it is more about seeing that the students might understand the 'multiple narratives' that are connected to an International Affairs scenario.

Alternatively, it could be argued that the facilitator should be transparent in her approach and that means that she should really tell the students what she genuinely thinks. For what it is worth, Chinese students who are often surprised when they read reports about human rights violations in China, have asked me what I personally think about these issues. Needless to say, I have argued that I and many others are indeed alarmed if not outraged if all these allegations are indeed true. I have followed this up by suggesting that if these students think these allegations are untrue they should explore avenues which might deliver them as propaganda or bias.

As an extension of this point it could be argued that a facilitator can't really be asking students to say what they think about serious issues if she is not prepared to do the same. Further to this, the facilitator might decide to tell her students that she will rather keep her opinions to herself until the end of the end of the project because she does not want her political views to play too influential a role in the educational process. Perhaps these ideas might be more comprehensively understood after the arguments on bias in Chapter Seven have been read.

(f) Against the background of the above point it is important that what the facilitator says is as important as how she says it. Good facilitator's language can be characterised by diplomatic nuances which features expressions such as:

- (1) 'it could be argued'
- (2) 'from this point of view rather from that point of view'
- (3) 'without wishing to take sides what would you do if you were in the shoes of the Chinese political leadership?'

The use of tactful and diplomatic language is important but there also has to be a kind of equality when it comes to exposing students to texts. The quotation above highlights how the Chinese view individualism and it also might perhaps appear to provide a justification for the Chinese government doing what it wants to do. Perhaps philosophically the facilitator would do well to provide a counterbalance to the anti-individualistic argument by focusing on the cosmopolitan idealism and sense of justice as conceptualised by Davis.¹

Against the background of the above the facilitator can get her students to engage with the sometimes convincing cosmopolitan and human rights arguments which prevail in this thesis. These are not just arguments in this thesis. They are arguments which often prevail in the UN and profound journalism and political commentaries world wide. The facilitator needs to however get her students to realise that politics is about the art of the possible and that the political management of the new China is not a simple task which can be solved with simplistic solutions.

Is it right to expect the facilitator to have all the answers?

What has been considered in this chapter so far is that the facilitator risks alienating her Chinese students. In addition, through her teaching practices she also might be bad for school business. From a pragmatic point of view she does not really have to address China in her International Affairs classes in the way that has been suggested above. There is a sense in which she could just show a CNN update on business developments in China and how China is bolstering the global economy as no other economy can. The statistics are quite overwhelming. The point being made here is that in a sense neither George Bush nor Tony Blair has all the answers to the many questions on how they should treat China. What they are very sure of is that they cannot afford to miss out on the trading benefits and advantages of doing business with China. In the name of international business UK / China and USA / China both the Prime Minister and the President could be seen to be failing everyone in the world of political economy if they did not continue to do business as usual. The Europeans, the Russians, the Japanese, the South Koreans and many other nations are all benefiting from the economic giant that China has become. Very few leaders are allowing the human rights issue to interfere too much with the booming global trade that China is spearheading with their support.

The relevance of this information is highly pertinent to the facilitator's handling of issues for the following reasons:

- (1) Neither the USA nor the UK nor European nor the other political leaders believe that by imposing sanctions on China or by giving China a difficult time at the United Nations China will necessarily change its political direction.

(2) It is possible that the Chinese communist leaders do not have a cosmopolitan cast of mind so it is not very useful to talk cosmopolitanism to people who don't understand the language of cosmopolitanism. Against this background, the facilitator needs to ask herself how much she can do in a situation in which she might even put her job at risk. She could decide on pragmatic grounds not to address China in the way so far described at all. She could for example invite the Chinese students or at least volunteers from the Chinese student group to give a talk on China under the following bullet points:

- (a) How economic progress in China over the last ten years has benefited the Chinese people.
- (b) How Chinese economic growth is benefiting the rest of the world
- (c) How the Chinese government's new market approach is a development and extension of communism
- (d) How China hopes to improve the social and economic and political conditions of its people in the future
- (e) Press freedom and human rights in China today and tomorrow

(Doyle and Russell 2005), (Medeiros & Cliff 2005), (Nathan & Gilley 2003), (Perry & Selden 2000), (Rossabi 2004), (Saich 2004), (Smil 2004).

This could be a one-off session of short talks given by a group of Chinese students over a period of forty five minutes and then for 15 minutes they could be asked to field questions on their area of competence. For the five mini-talks above each student could be given between five to nine minutes to complete what they have to say.

As an insider who has taught China in IB International Affairs classes and in global issues in English classes I have deep sympathy with the facilitator under consideration. One has to tread cautiously and there are no simple answers as to how one should present the China topic among a group of IB students. The facilitator's dilemma is very similar to the dilemmas facing western leaders and that is the dilemma of not really knowing which way to proceed.

Some might argue that such an approach might be a betrayal of the 'multiple narratives' approach. This of course needn't be the case. I say this mainly because (e) above could receive more attention than all the other headings in other time-tabled events. This will then give the facilitator and her students the opportunity to deal with all the human rights and social justice concerns that they might have.

Finally, I think it is important that the reader understands that there is no doubt in my mind that there is terrible injustice in China but I am equally aware of the fact that if one proceeds unsoundly in one's facilitation or other teaching approaches one can often do more harm than good. From an existential and a phenomenological perspective the feelings and emotions and the vulnerability of the student participants has to be weighed against the social justice achievements or failures of the facilitation pedagogy at hand.

Can the anti-Apartheid activism that changed South Africa not serve as a relevant model for China?

There is a sense in which a more radical facilitator would perhaps see much of the above as a shameful capitulation to 'Big Business' or she also might see it as an indulgent exercise in anti-politics. She might further argue on moral and strategic grounds that the facilitator educator should encourage her students to examine how mainly towards the end of the Apartheid era, governments, trade unions, consumers and other pressure groups were treating the Apartheid regime and its supporters. The facilitator might then challenge her students to examine the extent to which other organisations are or not treating China in the same way today. The students might even further consider arguments which imply that South Africa in some respects was a more just society than China is today because at least South Africa had a much freer press and there were opposition parties even though the South African Parliament was exclusively for White politics. On the other hand, Apartheid South Africa was quite justifiably regarded by the United Nations and the international community as morally and politically abhorrent. It could also be argued that many in the western liberal democracies did business with South Africa for decades during the Apartheid years. They did so because they could get rich off the backs of cheap South African Black labour. They also did so because they needed South Africa's gold, diamonds,

uranium, plutonium, vanadium and other minerals. In the eyes of the anti-apartheid movement however this collusion of business was reprehensible and the western business community in their eyes shared in the irresponsibility of propping up apartheid.

For the facilitator these considerations above could make the South Africa and China conflation philosophically sounder than appeared the case earlier on. What she might like to do on this basis is to get the students who are so inclined to collect information for the purposes of writing an essay in comparative political studies which might get the students to consider the following:

- (1) How human rights violations in the Apartheid era compare with human rights violations in China today.
- (2) Whether there is a credible opposition to China's communist party today. What the students need is to find out is whether there is an equivalent to the ANC in China today. What they could also investigate is the possibility of there being a sizeable Chinese leadership in exile. How Taiwan might emerge in the future of Chinese politics should merit consideration too.
- (3) The students could also draw up a list of potential Chinese leaders living in exile and deepen their search by asking whether there is any sign of a Chinese Mandela emerging on the horizon. In the mindset of some these might be far fetched considerations but politics on the other hand is about the art of the possible.
- (4) What the students might also consider is that because oppression is so bad and so notoriously successful in China, it has made the emergence of a viable opposition unlikely.
- (5) Students might like to look at what Tiananmen Square, Sharpeville and Soweto had in common with each other.
- (6) They could also consider the possibility that many of the families of the thousands of students and workers who were killed at Tiananmen Square are today acting clandestinely against the Chinese State in the same way that many of those who survived Soweto joined the ANC.
- (7) They could further explore the extent to which Chinese dissidence and imprisonments and executions are perhaps connected to some of the survivors of Tiananmen Square.

What about the implications of the existential phenomenological approach for the facilitation on Chinese politics?

There is a sense in which the facilitator of International Affairs might be an idealist with her own political philosophy and her own sense of justice. There could also be an emphasis on the extent to which she might have her own political agenda as a socialist or a capitalist. She might also be an active member of the UK Labour or Conservative parties but as a facilitator she has links or connections which have to be contextualised. These can be best understood in terms of the following questions she needs to ask herself:

(1) Is it perhaps not better to err on the side of caution when one is not exactly sure how one might proceed on an issue? For example, a research or essay writing assignment might serve the interests of the Chinese students, the other students and the College better. This does not mean that these essays have to be devoid of any critical thinking. Quite to the contrary the facilitator can employ these opportunities in essay writing to develop critical thinking skills in the context of injustice in China.

(2) How might I proceed if students who belong to the College Amnesty International Group ask me if they can invite a Chinese dissident who is teaching at Oxford University to give the International Affairs group a lecture on the conditions of the majority of people in China?

(3) Should I not look at things as a utilitarian might? If the consequences of the facilitation are going to be negative for me, my students and the school, then surely I must consult with more experienced and wiser colleagues on how I might best proceed on what might be more than just a controversial topic.

All of these reflections above suggest that the moral credibility of the existential phenomenological approach with its accompanying connections of democracy, the capabilities approach, human rights and global citizenship is being called into question. If this is the case, it is perhaps not a bad thing at all. Because one has a philosophical approach it does not necessarily mean that it is infallible or that it can

deliver accurate findings, understandings and interpretations in all International Affairs scenarios. This facilitation pedagogy employed throughout is an existential pedagogy. If anything, the existential highlights the ambiguous, the uncertain, shades of grey and sometimes even 'no-go' areas. Perhaps China is a political hot potato for facilitators who want to do justice to the ideals of the International Baccalaureate Programme.

Perhaps against this background the user of the existential phenomenological approach might realise its limitations in certain contexts. She might in the context of China decide that this approach might be able to deliver a critical thinking attitude but that it will not be able to deliver any solutions.

Final comment on this chapter

I have shown the contents of this chapter to various Chinese students and teachers in the IB programme that I teach and their responses persuaded me that there is lot more thinking to be done in this area. What struck me most was that there is a problem with the degree to which it is or is not necessary for International Affairs teaching to involve any substantive judgements. On the other hand there is a quite different problem and that is that perhaps a high percentage of Chinese students can be inclined to find the kind of critical thinking that emerges in this thesis quite intimidating. Sometimes they can escape from this by being sceptical or looking down on the subject or withdrawing their support from it in global issues classes. What the reader might find interesting is a comment by a politically informed Chinese student who said that as far as she was concerned all societies and states tend to tell and believe favourable lies about themselves and to tell and believe unfavourable lies about others or outsiders. The conclusion of this kind of thinking for certain Chinese students can be obvious and in this instance it might mean that Chinese students might avoid all courses that involve critical thinking in the political sense of the word. It is certainly interesting that very few Chinese students opt to do history and like to follow courses in sciences and mathematics and business studies or economics. Over the years I have personally found that only a very small percentage of Chinese students opt for International Affairs as a CAS course.

One last consideration for the facilitator is that alongside those who hold that the Chinese situation can only be altered by organised resistance on the one hand, and those who may be content to work with the current holders of power for their own economic advantage without consideration of human rights violations in China on the other, there may be a third alternative. Namely, since China aspires to a dynamic market economy, and market economies require the rule of law and openness to function properly, many both inside and outside China may feel that some evolution towards the rule of law and an open society is inherently likely.

Chapter Six

A facilitated philosophical project for critical thinking on the invasion of Iraq

Introduction

This is a project in the philosophy of education and as such it offers philosophical opportunities to the facilitator of International Affairs scenarios. Facilitation can in fact be more developed if it is injected with more philosophical thinking than has been the case so far. The existential phenomenological approach can be used to understand and examine contrasting approaches. In this particular scenario, the philosophical concerns of two USA thinkers, Noam Chomsky and Robert Kagan, will be added and exploited. The purpose of this development in this chapter is twofold and includes the philosophical education and development of the students in the context of International Affairs and the forging of a deeper connection between philosophy and International Affairs education. The facilitation of the project is steered by this philosophical approach which will focus in a minimalist way on the invasion and occupation of Iraq (Abu-Rabi 2003) (Bodansky 2005) (Bremer & McConnell 2006) (Thabit 2003). While the direction of the facilitation will be guided by the already explained elements in a gradual way, the final outcome of the development of the new analysis is a new instrument of critique for further developments in the thesis as a whole. These developments might include the chapters which follow but might not exclude revisiting the previous themes in a way that has so far not been done. The time frames for the various stages of the project will be flexible because the war on Iraq is clearly an issue that can be revisited in an ongoing way. I personally have been revisiting Iraq as an issue ever since the first Gulf War in 1991. When I first did this I found I had to become fully informed about Saddam Hussein's relations with the USA, the UK and other states.

The facilitator believes in consultation and consensus

It is important before the details of this project are further developed that the reader understands that all the recommendations of this project are flexible and open because it is driven by a spirit of consultation and democracy. This of course means that the philosophical instruments of critique can be developed and amended to match how the students decide to proceed. An existential pedagogy cannot really be existential if the teacher is doing all the planning and all the directing, recommending and suggesting. So much of what is suggested below could be amended or developed differently depending on how the students respond to the framework. In fact, it is important that all the International Affairs scenarios in the thesis as a whole are visited in this way. For the existential to remain at the heart of the project this needs to be the kind of thinking that prevails. This is a good place to drive this point home because in the project on the Middle East which is located in Appendix Two the students will take full responsibility for the leadership of seminars, lectures, research activities, facilitation and evaluation of learning processes and products which are connected to the organisation of a conference on the Middle East. In this project a 'multi-narratives' existential pedagogy will be the driving force. In a sense it would be ideal if the students were able to run most of their International Affairs scenarios but because of their substantial workload on the International Baccalaureate programme this would not always be possible. Perhaps the spirit of the existential which should pervade the facilitation of International Affairs scenarios is best summed up in:

One should seek out an audience that matters. In teaching it is the students. They should not be seen merely as an audience but as a part of a community of common concern in which one hopes to participate constructively. We should be speaking not to but *with*. That is second nature to any good teacher, and it should be to any writer and intellectual as well. A good teacher knows that the best way to help students learn is to allow them to find the truth by themselves. Students don't learn by a mere transfer of knowledge, consumed through rote memorization and later regurgitated. True learning comes about through the discovery of truth, not through the imposition of an official truth. That never leads to the development of independent and critical thought.

(Chomsky 2000b p.21)

The importance of the existential in this thesis has been made clear but what also needs to be emphasised here more than ever before is that each existential subject has

her own 'narrative'. Teachers have their own 'narratives', students have their own 'narratives' and the leading players in International Affairs scenarios have their own 'narratives'. It is on this basis that the importance of an existential brand of facilitation is very useful in a programme where an understanding of the idea of 'multiple narratives' is paramount. Further while the understanding of 'multiple narratives' is more than significant what is also very important is how students research and deal with issues in the spirit of responsible critique. The existential phenomenological approach in this project makes use of other philosophical elements which include human rights, the capabilities approach and global citizenship concerns. In order to give this philosophical approach more bite in this chapter, the multilateral approach of Noam Chomsky is compared with the unilateral approach which can be found in the ideas of USA 'exceptionalism' or 'neoconservatism' espoused by thinkers such as Robert Kagan. It is on this basis that these philosophical considerations drive the thinking behind a facilitated project on 'The Invasion of Iraq' (Chomsky 2000b, 2001) (Kagan 2003).

The 'multiple-narratives' approach

The students can be introduced to the topic of the Invasion of Iraq by being asked to research and explore the following narratives.

- (1) The rationale behind the Bush / Blair Coalition going into Iraq
- (2) The rationale underpinning the arguments of the opponents of the war in the USA, the UK and other coalition countries
- (3) The rationales of the Kurds, Sunnis and Shiites in Iraq who supported the war
- (4) The rationales of the Kurds, Sunnis and Shiites in Iraq who did not support the war
- (5) Any other relevant or significant rationales which might be anti-war or pro-war.
- (6) All the rationales that have emerged since the invasion. These would include the 'narratives' underpinning the impressive election results of the Shiites and the Kurds and the less impressive turnout or result of the Sunnis. Other rationales might include the 'multiple narratives' of the insurgents with their Saddam and Baathist and recently formed Al Qaida connections.

- (7) 'Narratives' which suggest that the forces pulling Iraq apart are stronger than those holding it together
- (8) 'Narratives' which have implications for timelines and conditions for a USA withdrawal
- (9) 'Narratives' which provide us with a more optimistic spin on the future of Iraq.

Further to my explanation of the relationship between the 'phenomenological', 'narrative' and 'multiple narratives' approaches which is explained in Chapter Two I need to remind my reader that that the 'narrative' and the 'multiple narratives' approaches are more like a compatible pedagogic strategy for working within the a phenomenological approach. This is necessary reminder just in case my earlier explanation has been forgotten.

Against this background, the internet is a live source of highly informative footage of USA Congressional Committee and UK Parliamentary material. The students however will also find much live footage reflecting the thoughts of insurgents, citizens of the Arab World, other anti-war protestors and the rank and file of society who might be for or against the war. There is of course no shortage of footage on insurgent websites on the internet and there are many credible and useful Arab sources such as El Arabiya and Al Jazeera. The students should also be encouraged to explore a wide variety of narratives which might be for or against the War. They could also be encouraged to engage with each other in residential contexts where first year students might explore these arguments with their older and possibly more politicised and more knowledgeable second year IB students.

While media are momentarily at the forefront of this argument and are anyway vitally and dynamically important in any International Affairs pedagogy, it might be a good idea to get the students to look at different UK or USA or any Arab or Israeli newspapers on the internet. This could be a good awareness-raising exercise in terms of political bias and propaganda and the kind of indoctrination that could take place if one just exposed the students to a particular bias. Just as in this thesis, authors such as Chomsky and Said on the one hand are juxtaposed against writers such as Ignatieff and Kagan on the other, it is important that students are for example given one

specific media bias or 'narrative' and then asked to explore the internet for the kind of journalism which is of a contrary bias. For example the readers of this thesis might like to look at the obvious anti-Blair and anti-Bush bias which exists in the articles written by the following journalists:

Brown & Morris (2006), Brown, Cockburn & Cornwell (2006), Buncombe (2006), Cockburn (2005a), Cockburn (2005b), Cockburn (2005c), Cornwell (2006), Fisk (2006), Judd, T. & Brown (2006), Penketh (2005), Russell (1996), Thornton (2006), Usborne (2005), Segupta & Brown (2005)

The biased 'narratives' implicit in these articles listed in the bibliography are quite clear but because the headlines, general layout, style, accompanying maps, diagrams of the *UK Independent* are educationally very engaging I use this kind of journalism quite frequently. Not only for the reasons already mentioned, but also because the biased arguments can be seen by some as quite provocative. The point being made here is that the existential bias of a specific journalist's narrative can be used to inspire research for journalistic counter arguments in UK daily newspapers like *The Telegraph* which might be more pro-Blair and pro-Bush in the specific context of the war on Iraq. In facilitative pedagogy one realises that one can seldom come across journalism or political writing which reflects both arguments in a conflict with equal strength and impact. This in the facilitator's understanding should not be a problem because biased literature can be viewed as a starting point in a dialectical progression towards other counter-arguments which can be equally biased but because of their bias the students will have a far more comprehensive overview of multiple biased 'narratives' on a particular scenario. Existentially this will put them in a much stronger position to make up their minds as to what is right or wrong, good or bad, just or unjust, legal or illegal, in a particular scenario.

What of course needs to be spelt out here is that in modern education most schools no longer teach dialectic and rhetoric systematically. This hardly gets a mention on the TOK programme in the IB world too. It is my opinion that many teachers in the humanities or 'Individuals and Societies' mainly encourage their students to develop their own opinions and the students are mainly not required to construct the best possible case for the opposite view or for something they do not care about at all. This could be a serious flaw in modern pedagogy when one thinks that a good number of

politicians in the UK and the USA could be lawyers whose whole education is directed at arguing the best case even when their client is guilty or for them the case has no intrinsic significance. Needless to say, in many countries throughout the world politicians could have military connections but from a cosmopolitan perspective this might be a very good reason why at an international school in the UK or the USA issues should be comprehensively debated by students.

The existential

The students can be encouraged to think existentially about how Tony Blair for example put his case before Parliament before the war. The students should be equally informed about the opposition arguments. Existential thinking will require that the students try to look at the deeper issues engaging philosophical problems pertaining to:

- (1) looking at both sides of the argument
- (2) examining the intelligence delivered on weapons of mass destruction
- (3) examining the reasons why Blair and Bush on both sides of the Atlantic might have examined the counter arguments of their opponents or the UN weapons inspectors before taking the crucial decision

An empathetic approach should be employed not for the purpose of saying all 'narratives' are morally acceptable or equal but rather to emphasise the importance of the students listening properly and objectively to all the 'narratives' before they make up their minds on the right and wrong or the good or the bad or the legality or illegality of an issue.

The positive value of Sartre's thinking in terms of his Kantian deontology, utilitarian consequentialism and the Christian idea of love has been used already for the purposes of International Affairs analyses throughout this project. This existential philosophical approach can be examined here by hard bargaining IB student politicians who might want to connect existential choice to the deontological connections which are embedded in the principles of the UDHR and international law. They, also from a utilitarian perspective, might want to explore the issue from the

perspective of consequences in terms of casualties on the ground and the cost of the war financially. On the matter of Christian love they might want to look at the arguments articulated by Pope John Paul and other religious leaders of all the important religions. Needless to say there are numerous other detailed arguments which the students could come up with. The idea of focusing on the existential does not imply that the students stick to a narrow definition of the existential but that they rather develop their own definition of the existential. This would be a positive development because existential philosophy challenges the students to discover the truth in a scenario. It is also a philosophy which encourages critical thinking because existential thinking is mindful of the deontological, the utilitarian, love, freedom, choice, decision making and action. It is certainly a philosophy which might impel individuals to deal with issues rather than pretend that they don't exist.

Phenomenology

The phenomenological can be explored in multiple ways ranging from the experiences of insurgents to the families of the casualties of the war and how the war has torn individuals, families, nations and the international community apart. The divisions in the Security Council between Russia, China and France on the one hand and the USA and the UK on the other should merit attention. From a European perspective the rift between the UK and two other leading players in the European Union, France and Germany should not go unnoticed by the students who in certain IB contexts could mainly come from Europe.

It might in the interests of forging a connection with the existential focus above be more interesting to emphasise the experiences of Prime Minister Blair and how difficult his life became after it was discovered how flawed his weapons of mass destruction argument was. The judicial enquiries into Mr Blair's behaviour as a politician had far reaching philosophical and moral implications which the students should be encouraged to explore. The connections between the 'multiple narratives', the existential and the phenomenological so far described can be explained to the students at a deeper philosophical level. They might wish not to focus on the Blair 'narrative'. They might want to focus on the 'narrative' of the now deceased insurgent Al Zarqawi and his Bin Laden, Al Qaida and Jordanian connections. Further, the lives

of the bereaved and those released from Guantanamo Bay might be considered. The facilitator will definitely serve the interests of the project and the group well by getting the students to explore the implications of phenomenology throughout the Iraq case study which clearly has 'multiple narratives' implications which include the 'Bush War' against Terror. The report-back sessions can feature the wide variety of issues which might be better explained because of a phenomenological framework which emphasises the 'lived-experiences' and 'life-worlds' of individuals and communities. The phenomenological emphasis in a sense frees the existentially minded student to focus on whatever scenario interests her or her peers.

International law, human rights and democracy

If the facilitator wishes to pursue the Blair 'narrative' and its existential and phenomenological connections she can get her students to explore the 'multiple narratives' connected to those many critics including Kofi Annan who say that the invasion of Iraq was based on a false pretext and was therefore illegal. The fact that the war did not have the backing and support of the Security Council of the UN needs to be explored. For the presentation of the multiple explorations to be comprehensive and fair, the US arguments for the legitimacy of the war need to be also considered. The views of President Bush and his Pentagon advisors and supporters also merit attention because their argument was unusual in that it claimed that the case for war was legitimate because Iraq was already in violation of seventeen UN resolutions.

The students can also explore cosmopolitan considerations which led to a significant decrease in the Prime Minister's popularity in the UK, Europe and the international community. From another perspective Mr Blair's political behaviour can be analysed under the microscopic lens of the cosmopolitan and other considerations emphasised by David Held in:

Cosmopolitan values can be expressed formally, in the interests of clarification, in terms of a set of principles (see Held, 2002). Eight principles are paramount. They are principles of:

- 1 equal worth and dignity;
- 2 active agency;
- 3 personal responsibility and accountability;

4 consent;

5 collective decision-making about public matters through voting procedures;

6 inclusiveness and subsidiarity;

7 avoidance of serious harm;

8 sustainability

(Held 2004 pp. 170-171)²

Once the IB students have read this extract and the fuller text in Appendix Three which explains it and investigated the underlying principles inherent in them, they might be able to explore possible connections between the elements of their own existential political position and David Held's principles as they might contradict the decision making that preceded the invasion of Iraq. In order to be even-handed however they might like to consider whether Iraq's new constitution is not more compatible with the human rights and cosmopolitan sentiments above than was Saddam's dictatorship. Discussion of this line of argument should not be conflated with discussion of the legality or illegality of the war. It should rather focus more on how life might improve in a more democratic Iraq. The 'narratives' of the Kurds, the Sunni and the Shiites can be explored against the background of the new constitution and how the new constitution might benefit men, women and children of all ethnicities and religious groupings needs to be explored.

Of course if international law and human rights law are to be explored more deeply, Saddam Hussein's trial and his claims that the Iraqi Court presided over by a Kurdish Iraqi judge is illegal merit important and comprehensive attention. For the IB students who have a real appetite for international law a number of related issues can be explored. They are:

- (1) Why Saddam Hussein unlike the late Slobodan Milosevic is not being tried in the International Court at The Hague?
- (2) Did the slowness of the Milosevic trial perhaps cause the Iraqis to arrive at the conclusion that summary justice and execution will best be delivered in Iraq?
- (3) How does the legitimacy of the trial square up in terms of human rights law and international law and the content of the quotation from Held above?
- (4) How does the possibility of Saddam's possible execution square with international understandings and human rights understandings?

These are profound philosophical, legal and judicial issues which IB facilitators and teachers can find interesting. They will certainly test the critical thinking skills of competent politicians.

The Capabilities Approach

The exploitation of Nussbaum's model in context of the oppression of women might provide necessary intellectual diversity in a project of this nature. There are those who say the recent developments in Iraq which feature the Shiites getting the lion's share of the vote might result in women being less free than they were under Saddam Hussein. There are those who might say that the Iraqi women living under Saddam were freer than the women living under any other regime in the Arab world. Of course this might be contested by those who would say that these freedoms pertained to those women who mainly had Sunni and Baathist connections.

The facilitator can get the students to explore the 'central capabilities' of Nussbaum's approach. This, needless to say, would require that they read certain aspects of Nussbaum's work and also perhaps explore a few authoritative commentaries on her work. These activities might ensure that they could glean a more profound way of looking at freedom, democracy and justice in the developing world. For the purposes of returning to a plenary for a report-back session males and females might be paired up to consider what the implications of Nussbaum's capabilities might be for the politics concerning women in the new Iraq.³

The students need to be given time to read and understand Nussbaum's ideas in the context of how women are living at the moment and how they might live in a new Iraq. Students can have access to all sorts of websites and other journalism including UN reports and footage which might give them a good idea of the existential and phenomenological realities of women's lives and how social practices in Iraq possibly fly in the face of them becoming genuine participants in the new democracy of Iraq.

Some female students or male students for that matter who might be interested in development issues and the concerns of women might like to read up more extensively on these issues with an eye to making contact through email with

women's groups in Iraq. They might also like to explore how the Shiite influence in Iran and the way Iran treats women might also be explored because of the Shiite connections that the two countries share. Further the students might try to understand Nussbaum's critique in terms of:

Women in the world are losing out by being women. Their human powers of choice and sociability are frequently thwarted by societies in which they must live as adjuncts and servants of the ends of others, and in which their sociability is deformed by fear and hierarchy. But they are bearers of human capabilities, basic powers of choice that make a moral claim for opportunities to be realized and to flourish. Women's unequal failure to attain a higher level of capability, at which the choice of central human functions is really open to them, is therefore a problem of justice.

I have argued that a political approach based on ideas of human capability and functioning supplies a good basis for thinking about these problems, helping us to construct basic political principles that can serve as the foundation for constitutional guarantees to which nations should be held by their citizens. I have also argued that the capabilities framework provides a good orientation for comparative quality of life measurement when nations are compared. In both areas, the approach supplies better guidance than approaches based on utility or on opulence (GNP per capita). The approach, I have argued, also helps us to think well about two of the most difficult issues facing international development today: the legal and political status of religion, and the legal and political status of the family.

The world community has been slow to address the problems of women, because it has lacked a consensus that sex-based inequality is an urgent issue of political justice. Other forms of hierarchy and inequality – apartheid, for example – have been deemed world outrages and have mobilized the international community. The outrages suffered by millions of women – hunger, domestic violence, child sexual abuse and child marriage, inequality before the law, poverty, lack of dignity and self-regard – these are not uniformly regarded as scandalous, and the international community has been slow to judge that they are human rights abuses.

(Nussbaum 2000 p.298-299)

The more one reads material such as this the more one thinks how important it is for IB students, both males and females, to research Nussbaum's work and works of others that are informative of how badly women have been treated and are still maltreated in the world today. A good existential phenomenological approach would insist on such an exploration. A good facilitator would enable her students to understand and perhaps even do something concrete for projects which are working for the cultivation of the sort of humanity which will combat these crimes against humanity. These are comments which can be made in terms of good and bad, right and wrong, just and unjust and legal and illegal in terms of the moral considerations and precepts listed in the beginning of Chapter Three. It is important that these are

revisited frequently by the students throughout their analyses. They are being mentioned after a number of chapters because it is appropriate here perhaps more than anywhere else in the project. It should also be reiterated that this exercise could also be done in any other International Affairs scenario of this project. As has been mentioned before, the contents of this thesis are intended to be an educational resource for the International Affairs education of both teachers and students.⁴

Noam Chomsky and the Global Citizenship factor

One thing that might be striking about the war in Iraq is the fact that it divided the USA down the middle. It divided many of the European nations too. It was not at all surprising to observe the hatred that emerged from Arab and other Muslim countries throughout the world. Chomsky as a well known left-wing American intellectual has been an opponent of his country's foreign policy for decades so it might be important for the facilitator to get her students to explore the invasion of Iraq against the background of American foreign policy over the decades. Chomsky's views are well known internationally so facilitation which does not steer students in this direction will deprive them of seeing the bigger picture of a critique by an individual who thinks the USA should think, bargain and act in the spirit of multilateralism. Another point from the IB facilitator's perspective is that most parents send their children to international schools because they like the idea of their children working things out with people of other nations. Many of the USA's anti-Bush citizens believed that the USA should have got the support of the Security Council because that would have meant that the Occupation of Iraq would have had the financial and military backing of the United Nations. This they argue would have meant that the war would have been less costly in terms of US lives lost and less costly from a financial perspective.

IB facilitation on the war on Iraq should not be seen exclusively and purely in terms of the apparent or real agenda of the Bush Administration. Certainly, good facilitation will ensure that a reading of Chomsky will help the students to locate the variety of alternative viewpoints about US foreign policy. There are other considerations which will enable the IB facilitator to help her students get a bigger picture.

Robert Kagan and American exceptionalism

Students in the facilitation process need to be encouraged to be discerning in their research skills which should help them differentiate between gossip, propaganda, lies, half-truths and the truth (Scruton 1985). I think that the 'multiple narratives' approach promoted in the thesis can certainly help address these issues. Good facilitators invariably discourage their students from assimilating gossip or half-truths or even 'truth' in an unquestioning way. Students studying International Affairs on the IB programme will not be done any favours by their facilitator if she does not help them help themselves to try and understand why the Bush Administration acts and behaves in the way it does. If the facilitation is confined to students listening to each other talk anti-Bush or anti-Blair rhetoric their education will have been deficient. Just as Chomsky sees the US decision making very much in terms of a failure to act multilaterally, Robert Kagan and many American exceptionalists see the multi-lateralists as naïve to think that the USA should act less unilaterally than it does because they think that we are not living in the kind of world that the multi-lateralists think we are living in. Regarding the war in Iraq many of the exceptionalists might argue the following:

It is naïve of the multi-lateralists to think that multilateral agreements on the war on Iraq would have been secured through Security Council support because the French, the Chinese and the Russians all had oil contracts signed with the Saddam Hussein regime. From an oil contract point of view it was very much in their interests that Saddam remain in power. The point that the facilitator and her team of researchers might like to follow up here is, whether this claim is true or not, or whether it is just neo-conservative or other pro-war propaganda. They might also like to research whether the claims that President Chirac of France really has had clandestine dealings with the Saddam regime over the last twenty five years and that he has benefited financially from them are truthful. They might find that the evidence for these claims is insubstantial and based mainly on anti-Chirac rumour, gossip and tabloid speculation. On the other hand it might emerge later that Chirac has been less than honest with his European peers. Further, recently defenders of the neoconservative lobby argue that through Tariq Aziz, Saddam's former deputy, the US Administration has learned that the fierce opponent of the war George Galloway, has himself

benefited from the UN supervised Oil for Food programme. Further, they also argue that others in the Security Council have also benefited in the same way. Speculation stretches of course further to the complicity of Kofi Annan and his son.

Much of this speculation the neoconservatives argue is not speculation but indeed fact and therefore weakens the case for going through the Security Council greatly. They would also argue that the human rights or international law arguments levelled against the USA for its intervention in Iraq do not make it as a state any less credible than Russia or China. In making this case they might cite Russia's treatment of Chechnya and the Chinese Occupation of Tibet as arguments which portray both these countries as less credible members of the Security Council.

Good facilitation will not only ensure an elaboration of these positions, it will also create time and opportunities for the students to counter argue them. Their relevance to the debate on Iraq needs however to be focused and contextualised. Good facilitation can also be about deconstructing texts, messages, propaganda, lies and also looking for the truth while doing so. It is therefore important for the students to identify the following narratives:

(a) Critiques by neoconservatives who might say that the democrats are naïve to think they would have had a better plan for Iraq after Saddam had been deposed. Many neoconservatives have also said that if the Democrats can't win a Presidential election it is highly unlikely that they would have come up with a better plan.

(b) Counter arguments by Democrats who believed the Iraqi Army and Police should have not been dismantled to the extent that they had been.

(c) Neoconservative ripostes which focus on how it would be naïve to think that the Shiite majority would have tolerated the continued Baathist control of the police and the army.

The above are just a few narratives which could serve as an introduction to discussions on the multiple other narratives which might emerge in discussions on how the highly influential neoconservatives might view other narratives.

Good facilitators know the arguments briefly alluded to above are not complete and they also know that they do not need to be and that they can also be argued against. The facilitator of arguments such as these welcomes the rebuttal of the counter-arguments and the possible discrediting of the sources of the neoconservatives because this thesis is not about the excellence of neoconservative arguments it is rather more about ensuring that the students explore the 'multiple narratives' of both the multilateral and unilateral neoconservative or USA exceptionalist positions.

What can also be interesting for student analysis is the fact that the idea of America tying itself down to the restraints of the idealism of multilateralism is anathema to the neoconservative cast of mind. This cast of mind they will discover sees the contemporary world in Hobbesian rather than in multilateral terms. George Bush during the present war in Iraq has often spoken about the importance of the USA not seeking a permission slip from the UN in looking towards its national and global interests. Perhaps the facilitator will help to drive this home for her students by getting them to analyse not only the USA's present involvement in Iraq but also future wars it might face. Against the background of the global citizenship and the human rights and multilateral considerations of this chapter it is important in the interests of their education that the students do not just see the involvement of the USA in Iraq purely in terms of the George Bush war in Iraq but rather more in terms of how many USA Presidencies whether Republican or Democrat have thought about USA interests in the past and how they might continue to think about them in the future. Students perhaps can explore the war in Iraq in terms of the bipartisan foreign policy concerns of both the Republicans and the Democrats. It is not in the interests of the facilitator and her students to think that the USA is more divided than it really is. It is also important to realise that on foreign policy issues the USA Democrats and Republicans have often been likeminded on many issues.⁵

Sometimes when students engage in a specific project they can become bogged down in the minutiae of the details of the project itself and they can miss the bigger picture of some important considerations. The facilitator is not just someone who should be aware of the fact that there are 'multiple narratives' in international politics. As facilitator she also needs to be informed about the details of the bigger picture that the

neoconservatives have in mind. The neoconservatives, the students need to learn, are conservative in that they only trust USA hegemony and they also might feel that too much multilateral decision making might eventually lead to the demise of American hegemony. What will be a challenging project for the facilitator and her charges is an academic focus on consensus and disagreement between Democrats and Republicans on foreign policy issues. In the interests of relevance to this chapter the focus needs to be on Iraq.

A focus on neoconservative arguments will counterbalance the multilateral emphasis that has prevailed in the debate so far

Much of the thinking about global citizenship and human rights in this chapter and Chapter Five corresponds with the multilateral thinking espoused by David Held, Martha Nussbaum and Noam Chomsky and others. What the introduction of the neoconservative or exceptionalist elements offers is a critique of multilateral thinking as flawed political thinking which is not really in the interests of the USA and also not in the interests of a safer world. What the neoconservative position might create is a wider debate on the nature of both multilateralism and unilateralism in international politics. What is quite clear from the diversity of 'narratives' is that the facilitator has not only to be profoundly informed about all these 'multiple narratives' but that she has to inspire the students to want to get to know and understand all these 'narratives'.

This raises once again the main thread in this thesis and that is that critical thinking needs to be at the heart of the reflections, processes, procedures and actions of facilitation. This does not for one moment imply that neoconservative thinking is the most important doctrine or orthodoxy. Not at all, it could be the most misguided idea discussed in this thesis. What is important in the name of critical thinking is that International Affairs activities on the war on Iraq are facilitated in such a way that the students really get to know and understand how and why the neoconservative powerbrokers think and act in the way they do. The phenomenological approach with its emphasis on understanding the lived experience of the relevant individuals who occupy or populate particular narratives can help the students explore the religious, cultural, political, economic, Republican and other connections in neo-conservatism

which are the driving force in their philosophy and also in their quest to maintain power domestically and internationally.

Further, what is imperative in this process of facilitative thinking is the importance of recognising what the neoconservatives think about what is being said about them. The students in their in-depth research about neo-conservatism will find that many of the 'so-called' neoconservatives such as Donald Rumsfeldt, Paul Wolfowitz, Dick Cheney and others do not see themselves as neoconservatives at all. They, the students will discover, refute the labelling because they say it is a ridiculous simplification of who they are and what they are trying to achieve in the interests of the USA. They might also add that there are neoconservatives who are Democrats and who were also against the war in Iraq. The names of these abound on the internet.

A final comment about critical thinking which is connected to judgements on good and bad, right and wrong, just and unjust, legal and illegal

If anything, the facilitator who wishes to use the war on Iraq as a way of encouraging her students to think critically in International Affairs on matters of good and bad, right and wrong, just and unjust, legal and illegal certainly has to communicate the message that International Affairs analyses involve the following:

- (1) the ability to research through the phenomenological approach how individuals throughout the international community think on matters such as the right of nations to militarily intervene in the affairs of other nations
- (2) the importance of recognising that although many nations see the Security Council as the only legitimate route through which such interventions can be approved, the USA does not accept this
- (3) recognising that the USA, rightly or wrongly, but not only the USA, does not see the Security Council or multilateral interpretations of human rights or international law as necessarily authoritative in the way that many in the international community do

- (4) recognising that the USA and many other countries that believe in the UN and international law also believe that there are many instances in which the authority of the UN is questionable and contestable and should therefore be challenged or even bypassed
- (5) understanding that the USA particularly, not only from a neoconservative perspective, has worked and continues to hope to work through the UN but when UN resolutions are contrary to US interests some might say that it might be inclined to flout and act against the wishes of the UN
- (6) appreciating that the USA approach perhaps weakens the UN but that many in the USA also recognise that countries like China and Russia in the Security Council also have questionable human rights records and that much of their decision making which conflicts with USA interests is really a pursuit of their own interests
- (7) recognising that in terms of the above point China and Russia and perhaps France would never have supported the invasion of Iraq because they all had substantial oil contracts lined up with Saddam's Baathist Regime

Against this background therefore the existential phenomenological approach and its other philosophical connections need to be articulated for a facilitated analysis on the war in Iraq. The facilitator who believes in the importance of the 'multiple narrative' approach of the many individuals, groups, organisations and nations who might be connected to the war on Iraq will realise that there will be many misunderstandings, disagreements and even consensus. What she will be most intent upon safeguarding from the perspective of existential pedagogy is the individual IB student's right in her own way to explore and decide on matters of good and bad, right and wrong, just and unjust, legal and illegal.

The pedagogical concerns of this chapter are developed further in a discussion which deals with activities that facilitators might employ when dealing with themes connected to the Israel / Palestine conflict. It has been located in Appendix Two.

Chapter Seven

A facilitation pedagogy for the minimising of bias, propaganda and indoctrination for International Affairs education on the International Baccalaureate curriculum

Introduction

The significant and measured focus on the 'multiple narratives' approach in Chapter Six already is pointing in the direction of minimising bias and the eradication of propaganda and indoctrination in International Affairs education. Further, in this chapter there is an opportunity to deal more comprehensively with the problems of bias as they might affect teaching ideas and values on the IB curriculum. The problems experienced by teachers at St Clair High School in Pennsylvania in the USA receive attention here but before dealing with them it is important to focus on helpful understandings of the issues of bias, propaganda and indoctrination as they affect the approach and the contents of this thesis (Crick 2000) (Moore 1982) (Scruton 1985) (Snook 1972) (Stewart 1938).

The word bias by definition implies a one-sided or a one-dimensional or an uncritical approach towards matters. On the issues of race, gender, sexuality or religion it might mean that a biased individual's one-sided approach or slant or interpretation could cause offence, hurt or suffering to anyone who might be affected by her bias which is reflected in comments, opinions or judgements. No such bias of this kind will be allowed to emerge as acceptable or credible anywhere in this thesis because of the idealistic norms and standards implicit in the existential phenomenological approach and also because of the philosophic and moral contents of the IB curriculum. If the philosophical standards of this project on the IB curriculum are anything to go by, this kind of bias is wrong, bad, unjust and in many instances illegal. The vast majority of IB students and teachers will enjoy considerable consensus on this issue. This is the kind of bias that Bernard Crick might refer to as 'gross bias' which is summarised and discussed further below. However, Crick also refers to another kind of bias which he calls 'simple bias' which he seems to indicate is the kind of bias people might express when in a liberal democratic culture they might differ on issues such as religion or

political philosophy or social issues. These are scenarios in which people are not necessarily biased towards other people but are merely attempting to define their political philosophy or their religious values or their economic or social values. These are instances where individuals cannot necessarily prove whether they are right or wrong on issues but will nonetheless argue their case. This kind of bias might be frequently ventilated when IB students discuss the arguments for and against global capitalism or whether the USA was justified in going into Iraq or not. People might not like you or your arguments when it comes to matters of simple bias but they cannot ask you to be expelled from a school or a forum because of your views. In the instances of gross bias, students and teachers who are guilty of such acts would certainly become an unacceptable presence.

The 'multiple narratives' approach which has prevailed throughout the development of the existential phenomenological approach and its implementation in the case studies is in a sense an excellent antidote to both kinds of bias for the following reasons:

- (1) On the matter of gross bias, the democratic norms connected to the existential, phenomenological, 'narratives' and 'multiple narratives' approaches and other aspects of my philosophical approach will immediately rule instances of gross bias out of court as bad, wrong, unjust and in many instances illegal.
- (2) On the matter of simple bias, the 'multiple narratives' approach insists that Catholics, Protestants, Muslims, Sikhs, Jews, Hindus, Marxists, proponents of market-driven globalisation, Socialists, Liberals and any others who might subscribe to a fairly reasonable justification for their outlook should be entitled to the freedom of expression on International Affairs issues. The 'multiple narratives' approach of the thesis entitles them to pass judgements on matters of good and bad, right and wrong, just and unjust, legal and illegal.
- (3) The 'multiple narratives' approach is in fact highly tolerant of individual bias because it knows that such bias provides the students with the kind of intellectual diversity which accompanies the views of Chomsky (1999b, 1999c, 2003a), Huntington (1996), Ignatieff (2001, 2003, 2005a, 2005b) Lewis (2002, 2003), Kagan

(2003), and Said (2003). These are, after all, the views of intellectuals which make the debates on International Affairs interesting. It also makes us realise that if life-long researchers and intellectuals of international standing can disagree with each other certain International Affairs scenarios must be very complex.

(4) There is a sense in which the facilitation pedagogy of this thesis is designed in such a way that the many biases expressed cannot lead to propaganda and indoctrination because both propaganda and indoctrination feed off an environment which neither the philosophy of this thesis nor the critical thinking implicit in its human rights and 'multiple narratives' concerns would permit. Both propaganda and indoctrination require the kind of teaching and teaching environment in which certain beliefs would be accepted without question. This invariably is best done in an authoritarian rather than the authoritative critical thinking culture which pervades this thesis.

Pedagogy, bias, propaganda and indoctrination

The minimising of bias, propaganda and indoctrination in the context of the argument in this thesis means the following:

(1) In the context of bias it means that every effort is made to ensure that the students will be facilitated or will facilitate each other in such a way as to explore the 'multiple narratives' of a scenario. The 'multiple narratives' approach will ensure that the students can become comprehensively aware of as many biased positions as possible. Bias here implies the prejudice that normally accompanies a point of view whether it is a view in favour of the war in Iraq or against the war in Iraq. In the development of this argument it might be helpful to consider the following:

I find it odd to reflect that in the fields where people are most worried about indoctrination, that is religious and political education, there is already a plurality of viewpoints which should actually make the task of the teacher easier – once the teacher sees that the task is not to avoid any discussion of beliefs, but is to explain and understand the differences between the common beliefs that there are. It is much more difficult to avoid indoctrination, believing that one is teaching the truth and nothing but the truth, in fields some of whose occupants give themselves such (pseudo) scientific airs like psychology and economics. But full-blown indoctrination and gross bias is probably a more rare thing [among teachers] than most suppose - simple bias is

the more common and everyday lesser problem. The far more serious arena of bias, deliberate and distorting bias at that, is found every day when one opens almost any newspaper, but oddly that seems to worry people less. (Crick 2000 p.57)

In view of the fact that newspapers are a very important resource for research in International Affairs education it would be useful for facilitators to realise that they need to take heed and employ their 'multiple narratives' approach to good effect because the invariably biased content of journalism needs to be debunked, critiqued and invalidated wherever this needs to be done. Crick is right about newspapers but the 'multiple narratives' perspective would highly recommend that teacher and student facilitators ought to be more sceptical than Crick implies when it comes to the plurality of viewpoints to which he refers above. The users of the 'multiple narratives' approach should always be asking themselves whether the plurality of viewpoints that have emerged in student discussions are in fact as comprehensive as they might have been. Certain International Affairs groups can sometimes be intellectually limited. Against this background the 'multiple narratives' approach in the hands of a morally and educationally ambitious facilitator would be quite purposeful. She would certainly not be complacent but rather more demanding in her insistence that her students attempt to explore the widest variety of viewpoints which any particular group might have unintentionally ignored. What good facilitators have to be aware of is that the intellectual weakness of a specific group can contribute to an educational environment which might be conducive to greater bias, propaganda and indoctrination. The reflections of an intellectually weak group can result in less enlightenment and less emancipation from propaganda.

(2) In the context of propaganda it means that every effort will be made to ensure that the class room or the International Affairs seminars or other forums will not become arenas for the transmission or communication of only one biased perspective or of a number of perspectives which are intellectually weak. In keeping with the philosophical tenets of the thesis this means that the 'multiple narrative' approach in this thesis is a security measure against bias of one particular sort being communicated. It is also an antidote against groups of students setting themselves low standards when talking about bias. Bernard Crick differentiates between simple bias and gross bias in the following:

Thus I would reject both the value-free and the honest bias approach to political education. Quite simply, it is impossible to be value-free and attempts to achieve this blissful state of moral suspension involve high degrees of either boredom or self-deception. At the end of the day after, but only after, some sympathy has been stimulated for the beliefs and motivations of many political doctrines and moral codes that coexist in our society, the recognition of bias can even be helpful in stimulating concern for active citizenship. Biased opinions by themselves do no harm: what matters is how we hold our opinions, whether tolerantly, reasonably, with respect for those of others, and with some thought of the consequences of acting on beliefs, after considering contrary evidence.

Simple bias then, is all but unavoidable and is no more harmful than tastes for this or that food, drink, music or fashion when not pushed to excess at the expense of reasoned judgement about everything else – like a child calling foods that it does not like, ‘horrid!’ and ‘nasty, nasty’. What is excess? When one’s taste or partisanship leads one not merely to run down a contrary position, but also to give an almost unrecognizable position of it. Simple bias is when one’s prejudices are clear but one’s judgement is reasonable; and gross bias is when one’s perceptions of what one is prejudiced against are so distorted as to be useless in dealing with those problems or people in a political manner. Gross bias, in other words, destroys the accuracy of perceptions; as well as being completely unacceptable to the other as a description of themselves.

(Crick 2000, pp. 49-50)

There is much in the quotation that is valuable but certain of Crick’s ideas need to be properly developed for the context of this particular chapter. His rejection of the idea of a value-free or honest bias approach certainly conforms to the best arguments in this thesis. Facilitation pedagogy as has been articulated throughout is a democratic pedagogy and that in itself has ensured that there can never be any kind of bias which is racist or anti-Muslim or anti-Semitic. In that sense a facilitation pedagogy for International Affairs scenarios can never be value-free. It will always be against what Crick might mean by gross bias. Crick is not absolutely clear about what he means by gross bias but his terminology albeit only partly developed is useful. Reading between the lines I would say that by gross bias Crick means the kind of discrimination against Muslims, Jews or Christians or Atheists or Secular Humanists implied above. Clearly there is and can be no place for gross bias anywhere in the IB curriculum but what about simple bias? Again the implications of Crick’s position for this thesis are not clear but if I might exploit Crick’s terminology once more for the development of my argument I would say that the disagreements that capitalists might have with socialists on the issues of political economy can be rooted in intellectual differences and disagreements rather than in some kind of intolerance or discrimination. Simple bias

in this context would therefore mean a difference of taste or opinion or value or hierarchy of importance rather than deep seated anger or hatred or intolerance for someone who might be Catholic or a Jew or a capitalist or a socialist.

(3) Indoctrination of a limited view or a limited range of biased views does not take place because in every International Affairs scenario throughout this project the students are encouraged to explore the 'multiple narratives' and outlooks before making up their minds. Indoctrination would certainly be the order of the day if the content of the pedagogy implied in the context of Iraq that the coalition view or the anti-war views were 'the views' which the student should subscribe to or that the teacher was transmitting a specific view on a frequent basis.

(4) Bias, propaganda and indoctrination have no place in these arguments because the philosophical approach proposed for use throughout the project is intended to get the students to make choices after they have surveyed the evidence and summarised and critically thought about the multiple perspectives that populate the thesis (Scruton 1985) (Snook 1972) (Stewart 1938) (Moore 1982).

Where simple bias and gross bias might overlap

For some in International Affairs the distinction between these two kinds of bias might appear to provide cold comfort. There are Iraqis and others who were against the invasion of Iraq who do not see the arguments for and against the war as matters of opinion at all. They see the arguments for the war in Iraq as reflections of violations of human rights and sovereignty of extraordinary proportions. They would say that the invasion has ruined the economy, the civil service and left the country in a state of terror, kidnappings, rape and appalling lawlessness. They would also further add that the country is now more divided than ever and that the invasion and occupation and insurgency have claimed the lives of over one hundred thousand people. Their view could be that the pro-Iraq war views could never fit into the category of simple bias. To them this might well reflect the trivialisation of a catastrophe. The same might be said of the Palestinians in the Diaspora who now number about eight million. The majority of these people look forward to the day when they can return to their homeland. However, the likelihood of this remains

remote. Great anger and rage often burns in the hearts of young Palestinians who in some instances have been prepared to become suicide bombers and inflict terrible harm on Israelis, themselves and their families. I personally would be quite careful about using the terms 'simple bias' when talking to young people who feel so deeply about injustices which have been perpetrated against them and their people. Further, one can imagine how an Israeli Jew who has lost family and friends in a suicide bombing authorised by Hamas might feel about Israel funding the Palestinian authority under Hamas. They might look to the assassinated leaders such as Sheikh Yassin and Abdel Rantissi and their comments about the Palestinians suicide bombing their way to the destruction of the State of Israel and ask themselves how it is possible to take such neighbours seriously. They might also look at the anti-Semitic protocols in the constitution of Hamas and say that the views of Hamas can never be classified as just simple bias.

How biased pedagogy in the USA is being challenged today

It is against this background that left wing bias is being challenged in politics classes in the USA today. The purpose of focusing on the USA scenarios is to show how in the name of education rather than bias, teachers should not allow themselves to become vulnerable to running forums or classes which are dominated by their own views or a restricted menu of views. Teachers who show either a left wing bias or a right wing bias are likely to allow themselves to become vulnerable to criticism which might harm their credibility as teachers. In the case of the St Clair High School in Pennsylvania discussed along with other educational examples below, biased teaching has perhaps even more serious consequences because it has resulted in the closure of an entire IB Diploma programme. Without wishing to be opportunist recent developments in the United States have confirmed the importance of my thesis to educational institutions and more specifically to the IB World. In an article in the Guardian entitled *'The Silencing of Left Wing Academics in the US'* we can read the following snippets:

(1) Silence in class, university professors denounced for anti-Americanism; schoolteachers suspended for their politics; students encouraged to report on their tutors. Are US Campuses in the grip of a witch-hunt of progressives, or is academic life just too liberal?

(2) These issues are not just confined to university campuses: it is also happening in schools. Since February, the normally sleepy, wealthy district of St Clair in Pennsylvania has been divided by arguments over its curriculum after the local school board banned the International Baccalaureate (IB), the global educational program, for being “un-American” Marxist and anti-Christian. During their election campaign, the Republicans of Upper St Clair referred to the IB, which is offered in 122 countries and whose student intake has risen by 73% world wide in the past five years, as though it was part of an international communist conspiracy, suspicious of a curriculum that had been “developed in a foreign country” (Switzerland). “Our country was founded on Judeo-Christian values and we have to be careful about what values our children are taught,” said one Republican board member. Similar campaigns have also sprung up recently at School boards in Minnesota and Virginia.

(3) Meanwhile, in January in Aurora, Colorado, social studies teacher Jay Bennish answered questions in his world geography class about President George Bush’s speech from his students at Overland High School. Caricaturing Bush’s speech, Bennish said, “It’s our duty as Americans to use the military to go out into the world and make the world like us.” He then continued: “Sounds like a lot of things Adolf Hitler used to say: ‘We’re the only ones who are right, everyone else is backwards and it’s our job to conquer the world and make sure they all live just like we want them to.’ Now I’m not saying that Bush and Hitler are exactly the same. Obviously they’re not, OK? But there are some eerie similarities to the tones they use.”.....

(4) The next day, the Cherry Creek School district suspended Bennish, arguing that he had at least breached a policy requiring teachers to be “as objective as possible and to present fairly the several sides of an issue” when dealing with religious, political, economic or social issues.

(5) The suspension sparked rival demonstrations at school. Hundreds of students staged a walkout, a few wearing duct tape over their mouths while some chanted, “Freedom of speech, let him teach.” A smaller demonstration was staged against Bennish, with students writing “Teach don’t preach” on their shirts.

(Younge ‘The Silencing of Left Wing Academics in the US’, 4 April, 2006, *The Guardian* G2 pp. 8-9)

These quotations above make one realise that university lecturers and teachers can be vulnerable to criticism, suspension and even sacking if the recipients of or the responsible authorities over their teaching believe that their approaches are biased or not even-handed when dealing with an issue. Further, in the case of St Clair High School it might even mean that an entire High School programme such as the International Baccalaureate Diploma might be suspended because of complaints by students, teachers, the governors and local authorities.

Whether any of the above persons or schools or school boards or other organisations have been undermined, vilified or treated fairly or unfairly is not really the concern of this chapter. Who is guilty and whether they are guilty of bias as teachers or governors or members of the school board is also not important. The main point obviously under consideration above in the USA is that some students, parents and local authorities believe that there is clear evidence that teachers are abusing their position of power in politics or values-based classes. They see them as violating the idea of fairness and their own professionalism in their promotion of left wing views at the expense of right wing or conservative or other views. The terms 'left wing' and 'right wing' are often not helpful because they can be quite pejorative and in that sense they are biased against a particular position. What is also possible is that the teachers who stand accused might in educational terms be less biased than the members of the governors or school board who want the programme closed down. It might be better in the circumstances to add that the following might be helpful when looking at both the interests of the teachers and the students and the governors and the school boards in ideological contexts in the St Clair High School scenario.

(1) Teachers should be mindful of their audiences and their constituencies and they might like to remember that as facilitators they do not have to promote their views because their classes would have greater edge and interest if they selected students who were Republican and Democrat to debate different perspectives. Intelligent facilitation should enable a teacher's views to receive fair, reasonable, honest and accurate attention but this should take place in an environment which encourages the freedom of expression and respect and tolerance for the idea of individual differences. The facilitation process would indeed be flawed if teachers manipulated discussions in such a way that their views received the most comprehensive and the most positive treatment. Facilitation here would just mean another name for bias, propaganda and indoctrination.

(2) The teacher as a facilitator of knowledge is someone who ought to, in line with point four in the quotation above, be as objective as possible. The use of all the elements of the existential phenomenological position which I develop will certainly ensure that the students become fully engaged with the ideological issues without too much propaganda and bias coming from the teacher. It seems to me that the teacher

facilitator in her pursuit of the truth would want her students to explore how President Bush and his supporters and all his opponents see and understand the USA presence in Iraq. In a recent debate I set up for a group of international students in a IB school in Oxford, UK, I had no trouble in getting Russians, Swiss, Kazakhs and Norwegians, British and others to explore what the Pentagon neoconservatives believed to be their views on the justification and execution of the Iraq War. A number of these students did not support the war at all but they were quite keen to debate the pro-war position because they saw this as an opportunity to test their intellectual skills and the specific skills of persuasion. It was quite easy facilitating the one hour session because the students had done extensive research and were informed about both the pro and anti-war arguments. I chaired the debate but it went so well that I think that next time I do this kind of forum I will let one of the students take the chair. Some of the student comments after the debate were:

- (a) 'It was a good educational experience because I was more concerned with an honest development of an argument rather than being a persuasive protagonist of my particular point of view.
- (b) The exercise made me realise how much better the pro and the antiwar arguments were than I originally thought they were.
- (c) It made me realise how much work goes into preparing a debate thoroughly and also how superficial journalism can be. I got so much more out of this debate because in preparation for it I had studied full length commentaries and debates for and against the war by well known academics who were also International Affairs experts.
- (d) It was fun being more intellectually rather than emotionally engaged on these issues. It amused me a lot to see Anton the anti-Iraq-war Russian argue the Bush / Pentagon position so expertly and with such dramatic insistence. He will make a good politician because in the debate you would never have known that he really hates George Bush.

A focus on role play in politics can actually be very useful for two reasons:

- (1) The students are required to explore another point of view in greater depth. This is in some instances very important because student opinions like the opinions of many of us are not as well researched as they might be. This will enable the student to see her own view and the views of others more critically.
- (2) In certain schools in certain areas in different parts of the world it might be difficult to get anyone to support or even meaningfully explore the neoconservative or

Bush / Blair perspective. This might be the case in an IB school in an Arab / Moslem country like Jordan or even in an IB school in Pennsylvania in the USA or perhaps also in Oxford in the UK or in Moscow, Russia.

What was encouraging in the Iraq debate mentioned above was the fact that it was observed by an OFSTED inspector who thought the lesson had a very high level of academic content and reflected a diversity of positions. What was even more satisfying was that he did not have a clue as to what I as the teacher facilitator personally thought about the issues under consideration. On that basis I felt as if I could be proud of the fact that I had done justice to the debate rather than to my point of view. What was clear in this facilitation process was that the issues rather than my point of view or the point of view of the majority or a minority of students were all important. Further to the issue of personal judgements, a role play like this can often be followed by a transparent and open expression of ideas where the students can give their own views on what they think might be right or wrong or good or bad or just and unjust or legal or illegal. It is not as if role play is an end in itself. It is rather a useful instrument for teachers who want to ensure that their students take the trouble to explore the other point of view. Further, it can create opportunities to explore different narratives from both existential and phenomenological perspectives. Role play can clearly play a significant role in the minimisation of bias, propaganda and indoctrination because it can help students to gain greater understanding of what their opponents think (Tomalin 1993), (Van Ments 1989 & 1990).

(3) This thesis is a thesis about a philosophy of education for International Affairs education on the IB curriculum. The motives for doing this work are from beginning to end educational. If a teacher wants her students to understand why they are making a certain political choice, she surely needs to get them to explore, summarise, interpret and debate these views with each other. She can also improve the quality of the intellectual dimension of her International Affairs forums by getting fluent outsiders who might be lawyers or politicians to argue and debate their expertise with each other. After these experts have fielded questions from the students, the students will be better informed and perhaps better taught because they will have seen experts arguing opposing positions. There are surely many ways of doing justice to

International Affairs scenarios. I find it difficult to believe that an overemphasis on the teacher's ideological position on these matters can be a positive way forward.

(4) Responsible teaching and responsible facilitation of learning according to the basic fundamentals of this thesis means that students will do more than just listen to opinions or summarise the content of biased journalism. It means that they will engage in critical thinking which is based on profound and in-depth academic research. A good International Affairs teacher might for example keep her questions open ended and encourage her students to do in-depth academic research which might result in extended essay and short essay writing. Just as an example, the following style of questions might embody what I am trying to get across:

Essays on the War in Iraq

(a) Research both the 'pro-and-anti-War' arguments and summarise what you consider to be the strengths and weakness of both positions.

(b) Describe and critique the positions for and against the war in Iraq and employ some of the elements of the philosophical approaches you have been taught in explaining and justifying your position.

(c) Explore your understanding of good and bad and right and wrong, just and unjust, and legal and illegal in the context of the war on Iraq.

(5) At the forefront of the facilitator's mindset will be the idea that on the school premises she is not a militant member of a political party but rather a kind of chairperson of different viewpoints. Perhaps Bertrand Russell understood bias and propaganda better than most. He saw propaganda as not the dissemination of knowledge but rather the generation of some kind of party feeling. He also believed that no adult could avoid expressing his aversions and preferences and therefore in the presence of the young he would have the effect of a propagandist. The question therefore for Russell was not whether there would be propaganda or not but as to how much, how it would be organised and of what sort. He felt the best method of freeing boys and girls as far as possible from the influence of propaganda was not by eliminating it but by exposing people to as many diversified forms of propaganda as

possible. As an illustration he mentioned the possibility of young people being exposed to the following programme:

Communism should be debated on the wireless on alternate Mondays by the Soviet Ambassador and Mr Winston Churchill; school children should be compelled to listen, and after the debate had lasted three months each school should take a vote. On Tuesdays, India should be debated between Gandhi and the Viceroy; on Wednesdays, Christianity, between Stalin and the Archbishop of Canterbury.

(Russell 1932 p.140)

Russell as an intellectual giant of his era realised that students should be exposed to as much bias as possible if they were to be taught how to arrive at informed judgements. Such a process was fundamental to students being freed from political and religious indoctrination and also as part of their preparation for participation in democracy. Teachers and students today have progressed beyond the wireless. They have ongoing access to well developed arguments on the war on Iraq from multiple perspectives. The debates between Noam Chomsky and Christopher Hitchens and between Christopher Hitchens and George Galloway on the internet are a case in point. Parliamentary or committee proceedings or statements put out by the UN or different embassies throughout the world can always enliven these debates. Through television and more specifically the internet all the views imaginable are on display for all to digest.

A teacher ought not to behave like a militant or someone at her party conference when she is standing in front of a class of students in a school which is funded by the taxpayer's money. It would seem in the light of recent developments in the USA that teachers would do well to exercise their professional accountability and responsibility for the following reasons:

(1) A teacher will have far greater credibility among her students, the parents and the school board if she were well known for popular International Affairs classes where multiple viewpoints were expressed in an even handed way.

(2) A teacher does not help an intellectual climate or atmosphere if it is dominated by her perspective. As a facilitator of multiple viewpoints and therefore possibly

many biased perspectives she strengthens her position because she cannot be accused of bias, indoctrination or propaganda.

Why the content of the existential phenomenological approach can protect teachers

If an inspector of education had at any stage to walk into any International Affairs class, she might not be sure as to how a teacher might be teaching. She might well be an inspector who is employed to find out whether the allegations of bias, propaganda and indoctrination at St Clair High School in Pennsylvania are justifiable or not. In this following scenario I imagine how a teacher interviewee might favourably respond to her inquisitor by using the main elements of my philosophical approach in her defence. She might say the following:

(A) Existentially and Phenomenologically

In this class I am sensitive to the needs of all the students. I realise that many of them come from politicised families but I also realise that they could be Democrats or Republicans or members of some alternative party. These concerns are important because I feel I can't do justice to the students or the themes under consideration if the student does not become the centre of the learning process. By doing this I let them know that I value their beliefs but I expect them to provide evidence and sound philosophical justifications for their arguments. I highlight the importance of objectivity but I also let them know that being objective does not mean you present your case in a dogmatic, mean spirited, offensive and arrogant way. What is important is that the students do thorough and comprehensive research on Iraq but that they also respect individual differences when they present their case. The individual participants in debates are more important than the arguments and it would be wrong of me to create a climate of putdowns or mistrust or a lack of confidence or self belief or even arrogance among the students. An International Affairs teacher must be a confidence builder rather than the enemy within who promotes her own views at the expense of those who might disagree with her. Further, it is also advisable that she is not seen to be taking sides in such a debate!

(B) The 'Narrative' and 'Multiple Narratives' Approaches

International Affairs scenarios are full of stories which can be told by Kurds, Shiites and Sunnis. Teachers can get their students to explore the content of these stories and the pains, sufferings, achievements, successes and human rights violations that might accompany them. Similarly in the USA political scene I have to respect that there are also many fascinating narratives. I really need to recognise that the students have their individual, community and family narratives and that these will be important when they collect evidence and debate issues. I see my job very much in terms of how important it is that I facilitate forums for the expression of these issues and perspectives.

(C) Human Rights and International Law

So far I haven't said anything substantial or cogent about value judgements which might include concerns about what is right and wrong or good and bad, just and unjust, or legal and illegal. This is perhaps a good thing because maybe we need to recognise that value judgements of this order need to be discussed after the students have looked at the facts, the evidence, the philosophical justifications and the attitudes of the 'multiple perspectives' in a particular International Affairs scenario. If students are going to pass value judgements about right and wrong and good and bad, just and unjust, and legal and illegal they need to be informed about the realities of their topic.

I believe that as a teacher I need to help the students clarify their thinking on these matters through a critical thinking approach which can be very much supported by the comprehensiveness of my existential phenomenological approach which I am using in justifying my point of view. What is finally important here is that the students should not rush to judgement but should be fully aware of the facts of a scenario and they should also be able to justify their reasons for deciding why something might be good or bad or right or wrong, just and unjust, legal and illegal. This is why the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and international law have high status in my International Affairs classes. They are full of normative content which can be inspirational in helping the students make their own value judgements. It is important also to recognise that the personal values of the students whether they are Christian,

Jewish, Islamic, Secular Humanist or other values will be fundamental underpinnings of their decision making.

Needless to say, this narrative above which might well apply to any teacher who wants to become immune to accusations of bias can be further developed in terms of the global citizenship and the capabilities approaches which I develop in the thesis. This is not necessary here because I have partly achieved the aim of showing how bias can be minimised by exposing the students to 'multiple perspectives' rather than mainly the teacher's perspective. What needs to be further explained to the visiting inspector is that the existential phenomenological approach is connected to a specific pedagogy which further protects the teacher from accusations of bias, propaganda and indoctrination.

The pedagogy of role play and debates and other dimensions of facilitated learning can indicate to any outside observer such as an inspector that the teacher really is interested in empowering her students with understandings of multiple perspectives. Further, her desire to get her students to listen to experts does much to raise the stature of her approach. This indicates also that she seems to be more mindful of what other people think rather than what she thinks. Does this all therefore indicate that the teacher is a mealy mouthed and gormless individual without any opinions of her own? Against this background the following might be useful.

(1) Teachers of course can have views of their own and one might well ask whether a teacher can really ask a student to volunteer her opinion on an issue if she is not prepared to give her own views or interpretations or value judgements on what might be good or bad or right or wrong or just and unjust or legal and illegal. Teachers are often challenged in this way in International Affairs classes. What a teacher can do in a situation such as this is to say that in this project, 'I like to see myself as an impartial observer who does not want to affect the group dynamics either positively or negatively. So, like a good chairperson I feel that I can better chair proceedings if I withhold my opinions for the moment'. She can also say that she will be rather remembered for her role as an impartial observer and facilitator who empowered the students to think for themselves.

(2) There are many scenarios in which students can respect teachers for stating their views on good and bad and right and wrong, just and unjust and legal and illegal. They respect them for giving their views when pressed to do so but they are even more impressed when they find the views are modestly and perhaps quietly expressed towards the end of a project rather than in the early stages of a project. Sometimes teachers with special gifts and charisma can create the kind of environment where students enjoy a genuine argument or discussion or debate with her. They do so because they see her as a real person who communicates her views with modesty and expertise but they also see her as a sympathetic listener who realises that there are in many instances two very good opposing points of view. She might think less of the one view than the other but that, in the interests of diplomacy or fairness, will not deter her from supporting everyone's right to state their case.

(3) Against the background of the above it is neither fair nor reasonable nor even desirable to rule out the teacher expressing her views. On the other hand, it would be highly undesirable for teachers and students and school parents and school boards if teachers were being criticised on a scale which required the interventions of the school boards and the courts and possibly the permanent closure of such an excellent programme as the IB programme.

(4) The philosophical positions of this thesis against the background of all these concerns reflect an important development which I believe might help teachers of International Affairs to be more cautious about how they teach. It can also be a useful instrument in ensuring that issues are taught more fairly and that the classroom can become a space where indoctrination, prejudice and bias is minimised through multiple explorations.

Some reflections on the monitoring of the teaching of International Affairs scenarios

What has emerged out of the above narrative in the *Guardian* on 'The Silencing of Left Wing Academics?' is that the furore the teachers / academics have caused has resulted in unparalleled interference or interventions in classroom approaches. If you believe what these academics or teachers are doing is wrong you might look upon

these acts and the closure of the St Clair IB programme in Pennsylvania as a positive and necessary intervention. If you do not see anything wrong with the way they are operating, then you will see the interference or witch hunt as something of McCarthyite proportions. Perhaps an extreme measure of this kind of intervention is evident in the involvements of a USA Academic, David Horowitz, who is committed to exposing left wing bias on USA campuses (See Gary Younge 'The Silencing of Left Wing Academics in the USA', 4 April, 2005, *The Guardian* G2 pp 8-9)⁶

Horowitz aside, the St Clair High School IB programme discussed above is a taxpayer-funded High School programme so it remains to be seen how the school might defend itself in court. At the time of writing this thesis the school lawyers are preparing a case which they hope will overturn the judgements of the school board. It is of course important to recognise that the school and its teachers are innocent until proved guilty and it is also important to keep an open mind on the decision of the school board until justice has run its course. It is equally important to recognise that at this stage the journalism which portrays the school and its teachers in a negative light might well be of a biased variety. The findings of the court should therefore force me to reserve judgement until later. What strikes me about a High School as opposed to a university is that by far the majority of its students are not adults and that the parents or school heads might well want to ensure a diversity of ideas rather than some ideological orthodoxy. It also seems to me that for someone who believes in an existential pedagogy it would be a great pity if the ideological inclinations of teachers had to be policed by authorities outside a school and that this would create a kind of witch-hunt culture which could not be beneficial to education at all. What seems to be the best way forward is that on ideological issues in highly fractious environments teachers should recognise that representing, discussing openly and freely and fairly, all shades of opinion or multiple biases would be the best antidote to propaganda and indoctrination. It would also be in the best interests of a flourishing International Affairs programme where student interests were at the centre of the course.

School teachers should not really be trying to win their ideological arguments in front of high school students. In keeping with the fundamental tenets of my philosophical approach they should be providing their students with an opportunity to debate multiple ideological perspectives. These should then provide the students with their

own landscapes for deciding what might be good or bad or right or wrong or just or unjust or legal or illegal.

Some final concerns on bias, prejudice and indoctrination

If teachers want to avoid the kind of bias, propaganda and indoctrination that can attend a one-sided or prejudiced presentation of issues in International Affairs scenarios it might be helpful for student or teacher facilitators to consider the following:

- (1) that a just and fair variety of viewpoints are articulated by authoritative and competent speakers
- (2) that media representation is fairly representative of a wide variety of biased views and that the students are expected to accept nothing at face value
- (3) that individual conferences, seminars, tutorials, lectures, papers, discussions and other communications cannot be dominated by or upstaged by or monitored or controlled by individuals who have a specific political agenda – because of these realities in the modern world of politics IB teachers of International Affairs should imaginatively and selectively try to minimise opportunities for the unbridled expression of bias
- (4) that there is an understanding that bias is at the heart of most political arguments
- (5) that students should not be afraid of bias
- (6) that students should learn to recognise a biased view as just one of many views
- (7) that social clubs, community forums, councils, political parties, churches, mosques, synagogues and all the individuals who support them, normally have the sort of affiliations which are rooted in a particular bias
- (8) that students can unpack and analyse a biased view in terms of the high moral, political, and human rights standards implicit in the cosmopolitanism of this thesis
- (9) that students need to recognise bias as the prejudice of a particular individual
- (10) that students should be able to identify bias which might be anti-social and anti-cosmopolitan
- (11) that bias can be dangerous if it is connected to discrimination against gays, straights, feminists, Muslims, Jews, Christians or any other group which is being treated unfairly in terms of the principles of the cosmopolitan philosophy in this thesis
- (12) that in some instances it is a good idea to acknowledge but ignore bias while in others it might be best to take personal, social, legal or political action
- (13) that it might be useful for the students and their teachers to explore the differences between bias and discrimination – what will hopefully come out of this will be the realisation that in some instances bias is wrong and prejudicial but that in all instances discrimination is wrong, bad and often illegal.⁷

It is against the background of the above that we can conclude that bias is a reality we will hear and identify in students' oral and written work on the IB programme. Because of the nature of International Affairs as a value-laden subject of extraordinary multi-disciplinary dimensions which reflects the 'lived-experience' of peoples we will listen to and observe and read and hear both simple bias and gross bias. Collectively and collaboratively colleagues and their students who work in the spirit and invocations of both facilitation pedagogy and cosmopolitan philosophy will certainly play a role, not in completely eradicating bias, but at least in succeeding in making their students aware of the shortcomings, flaws and possible evils inherent in both simple and gross bias.

Chapter Eight

An argument in favour of a compulsory international affairs course on the International Baccalaureate

Introduction

In keeping with the line of argument that starts in the Introduction and prevails throughout the thesis, I would like to focus in this chapter exclusively on my view that international affairs should be a compulsory subject on the International Baccalaureate curriculum. This will be consistent with the references to this argument which have been flagged more specifically in the Introduction and Chapters One, Two and Three. I would like to emphasise the following:

(1) The international aims which can be found in the quotations from and references to The IB Learner Profile, TOK, CAS and the subject choices in the Hexagon stipulate that IB students should be:

(a) Interested in and concerned about the local, regional, national and international affairs. Most specifically these imperatives traverse all the connected aims as they exist in the IB Learner Profile but they are also implicit in every subject specific course guide of all the subjects of all the six subject groups listed in Chapter One.

(b) While the IB Learner Profile remains the most compact, up-to-date and concise document on the aims of the IB Diploma, it is important to recognise that an awareness of the importance of 'ethics and politics' in local, regional, national and international contexts is emphasised explicitly and in great detail in the TOK Course Guide. Quotations confirming this are detailed in Chapter One which among other concerns focuses on the international and the intellectual aims of the IB. These aims are needless to say connected to the human rights, global citizenship and cosmopolitan considerations in the thesis. (Dower 2002, 2003) (Forsythe 2000) (Held 1995, 2002) (Held & McGrew 2004) (Nussbaum 1997, 2000) (Osler 2000) (Osler & Starkey 2005a, 2005b).

(c) Further to points 1(a) and 1(b) above, it is not at all an exaggeration to conclude that the content of the IB Diploma requires that students develop an intellectual understanding not only of their own political systems but also of the international affairs concerns of the global community (Dower 2002, 2003).

(d) One does not have to look any further than the international and intellectual imperatives of the IB Learner Profile to understand that the IB Diploma requires that all students learn to think independently and critically and in a tolerant, unbiased, open-minded, responsible and principled and caring way about the concerns of international affairs.

(e) Similarly, just as one does not have to look any further than the aims in the IB Learner Profile to realise that the IB students ought to become intellectually and internationally literate about the concerns of international affairs, one does not have to look any further than either the TOK or the CAS programmes to realise that service and a commitment to responsible action are very clear aims of the IB curriculum. For those teachers as potential facilitators of international affairs who have been less than ambitious about this topic in the past or the present, it is important that they as IB teachers recognise that international affairs education is one of their responsibilities. In the same way as a Christian, or a Jewish or a Muslim teacher is expected to be enthusiastic about her faith in her specific denominational school, an IB teacher should share the same enthusiasm for international affairs education in her international school. International affairs understandings can and do after all provide students with deeper insights into the problems of internationalism.

I could proceed further with multiple references to the subject specific syllabi, TOK and CAS guides to strengthen my argument for a compulsory international affairs programme on the IB. However I believe what I have done throughout the thesis and in this chapter so far are adequate to the point I am trying to make. I do believe now I can focus more specifically on my critique of the limitations of the IB curriculum for the following reasons.

(1) There is no single subject on the IB curriculum which is compulsory which enables all students to study international affairs in the way that I suggest throughout this thesis.

(2) Compulsory programmes such as the CAS and TOK have their own aims and objectives and even though they both explicitly indicate that international affairs ought to be developed and studied in the way that I suggest, there is no recommendation or formal provision for a forum in which international affairs is to be taught on the IB. Besides, both these programmes have multiple foci and interests which have no direct bearing on the concerns of international affairs. I say this against the background of having been involved with CAS, TOK, subject specific and IB Learner Profile concerns. I also remain convinced that even the teacher most dedicated and committed to international affairs will not find the kind of forum or avenues or spaces where all the students in a school might enjoy the benefits of a fully fledged international affairs programme. There will always be students and staff on the IB who are informed and knowledgeable about international affairs. This is not however the main point of an argument which recommends that all IB students ought to be studying to become informed about international affairs because this is an aim of the IB Diploma.

(3) There are those who could quite well counter-argue that there are multiple opportunities for the realisation of the international and intellectual aims of the IB curriculum in all the subjects that they do. These individuals would say that CAS, TOK, international day, conferences, school trips and informal discussions in social situations including residential accommodation would suffice. I personally cannot agree that the majority of students can become literate in international affairs in such a piecemeal or random way. One might well argue that through these very same forums students can become literate in economics or history or business studies or philosophy or ecosystems or even mathematics or physics. The teachers and students of these subjects would not agree because they all know that if a subject is to be well understood by the majority if not all of the students they really have to have frequent and compulsory exposure to formal classes. This would further require monitoring and continuous assessment which will inform and educate them and facilitate their learning in the way that I suggest in this thesis.

**If students are to become literate in the international affairs sense of the word,
they must do a compulsory course which is facilitated in a flexible and
comprehensive way**

Besides the imperative in the heading above, my thesis makes an added claim. This contains the idea that doing international affairs on a compulsory basis is only part of my ambition. What I believe is required is that the international and intellectual aims of the IB can only be attained if international affairs is taught in a certain way. The way I suggest is through the approach of my facilitative pedagogy. This facilitative pedagogy I believe is paramount if this course is going to be effective and successful. I say this because literacy in international affairs will best be brought about by the following:

- (1) The phenomenological approach underpinning the facilitation pedagogy in this thesis insists that students approach the multiple ideological perspectives in international affairs scenarios in an unbiased way.
- (2) The 'narrative' and 'multiple narratives' underpinnings of facilitation pedagogy suggests that a course in international affairs should be about the students exploring and describing the concrete 'lived-experiences' of peoples' lives in the contemporary world.
- (3) Both the phenomenological and the 'multiple narratives' approaches suggest that the students might be free to choose topics so that they can explore the 'multiple narratives' in international affairs scenarios which interest them.
- (4) The emphases in both the phenomenological and the 'multiple narratives' approaches will require that the students learn to research, explore and describe international affairs scenarios comprehensively, accurately and in an open-minded and unbiased way. In that sense both these approaches will empower students to be well prepared for post-phenomenological and post-'multiple narratives' concerns of a normative nature. Further, the phenomenological and 'narrative' and 'multiple narratives' approach imply that the students use the academic benefits and rigours of the following:

- (a) Excellent journalism and reputable up-to-date access to the best of CNN, Al Jazeera, MSN, BBC Online, Sky News and all the other networks or media enterprises which might be available in their own languages. Further, reputable journals, books, essays, biographies, autobiographies and authoritative and principled internet websites are certainly often an excellent supplement to and extension of seminars, tutorials, student talks and lectures by teachers and guest speakers.
- (b) The benefits of learning from teachers and students who are doing 'Individuals and Societies' IB subjects which are highly relevant to understandings and interpretations of international affairs scenarios. Without mentioning all of these which are already outlined in Chapter One I must admit that economics, business studies, ecosystems, geography, political theory, psychology, philosophy and literature students often have something very interesting to contribute to international affairs classes. Further, it is often the case that if teachers and students confer on the importance and relevance of CAS, TOK and the IB Learner Profile to the contemporary world both groups can make more sense of the idea and the importance of doing international affairs as a serious and a compulsory subject. Further to this, it is important for me to make the point that it is my experience that mathematicians, physicists, biologists, psychologists, chemists and many others who have a scientific cast of mind are often highly literate in international affairs. Many of these professionals frequently play a meaningful role in leadership positions on the IB. This is just another point confirming the importance of all staff and students being involved in some form of international affairs education. One should not on the IB be linking international affairs education to the rest of the curriculum in a reductive kind of way.
- (c) An international Affairs course where the focus is on describing what the main players in scenarios are saying about plights, achievements, hopes and dreams is important if students are going to be able to make responsible judgements about international affairs scenarios. Further, one needs to recognise that a sound international affairs course will offer students post-phenomenological and normative opportunities to engage in their own personal judgements about what might be good or bad or right and wrong or just and unjust or legal and illegal in international affairs scenarios.

(5) The existential approach to facilitation pedagogy will ensure that the students focus on their responsibilities in their acts of choosing and deciding on matters of good and bad, right and wrong, just and unjust and legal and illegal. It is indeed a seminal ingredient of the IB Learner Profile that individuals take responsibilities for their own actions and the consequences that accompany them (See IB Learner Profile 5). The advantage of the existential approach as it is positioned and developed in this project about the IB is that it is not located within the framework of a moral or a political vacuum.

(6) Existential freedom, autonomy and intellectual independence in the context of international affairs have to be located within the framework of the IB curriculum. The fuller implications of an existential phenomenological approach are highly relevant in that from an existential phenomenological perspective students have to make choices not only about options available on the programme but also about the extent to which they are going to commit themselves to universal debates on global warming and human rights in Chechnya, China and Zimbabwe and other equally compelling issues. Existential philosophy is however not only about reflection and choice, it is also about action so the imperatives of the existential approach to facilitation pedagogy will also ensure that the students will be encouraged to explore the extent to which they might wish to become involved in a minor or even in a major influential way in political activities somewhere on the ground in our global community.

The imperatives in the IB Diploma are not selective

Nowhere in any of the documentation that I refer to throughout my arguments for a compulsory international affairs programme is there anything to suggest that only those students who are interested in international affairs should be doing international affairs. The IB quotations in the IB Learner Profile, TOK, CAS, IB Mission Statement and the subject specific course in all six groups imply that all students should be experiencing internationalism in the international affairs sense of the word. From a learner's point of view, I believe that literacy in international affairs which is fundamental to the requirements of internationalism can only be attained for all IB students if the course becomes compulsory and all students enjoy the benefits of

studying the important events which are taking place in the world around them. Many who teach on the IB curriculum know that students might well choose a menu of subjects which gives them scant opportunity for developing the 'multiple narratives' implicit in the many complex International Affairs scenarios which might be encountered in the provisional syllabus above. I have chosen the IB Diploma choices of a Korean and a Chinese student who through no fault of their own left the College with a very shallow if not non-existent understanding of International Affairs. Their subject choices were as follows:

Student A

Higher Level: Physics, Economics, Mathematics
Standard Level: English, Biology, Chinese

Extended Essay

Theory of Knowledge

Student B

Higher Level: Chemistry, Biology, Mathematics
Standard Level: English B, Economics, Korean

Extended Essay

Theory of Knowledge

I have chosen both these students because one can realise that there might be little opportunity for them or their teachers to engage in any depth on any of the International Affairs connected subjects mentioned in the thesis. I personally know that both these students were outstanding scientists and both received places at Oxford. Both, through no fault of their own, had a slim knowledge of International Affairs because the curriculum that they were engaged in did little to develop their understanding of the subject. Further, rather than just having a very basic knowledge of international affairs, one of the two students concerned had an anti-intellectual approach to the subject. She regarded it in fact as unimportant in her scheme of things and she left me wondering how little of an international impact the College had had on her. One might well ask what kind of international education this scenario might be

offering students. Students can only become fully literate in a subject if the subject is done properly. International Affairs can only be done properly across the IB World if it becomes a compulsory subject in the way I define in the rest of this chapter.

The benefits of a compulsory international affairs course rooted in my case study approach for IB students

A compulsory international affairs course underpinned by my existential phenomenological approach to facilitation pedagogy will ensure the following:

(1) The course will be relevant to the interests of the students because the syllabus guidelines will be flexible and entitle students and their teachers to strike a balance between local, regional, national and international concerns. The strength of this approach is that, for example, an Iraqi student could well do research on her understanding of the 'multiple narratives' that prevail in Iraq in 2007 and in keeping with the developments of this thesis she will also explore the 'multiple narratives' which impact on Iraq but are rooted outside Iraq. There is no limit to the extent of these narratives but in the interests of relevance it would be worthwhile mentioning:

- (a) The Coalition narrative and their supporters
- (b) The Al Qaida narrative and their supporters
- (c) The 'multiple narratives' that exist more specifically in the Arab world
- (d) Other relevant narratives which emerge inside and outside the United Nations.

Iraq is an important scenario but the important point to bear in mind here is that in the interests of internationalism and students sharing their knowledge and their experiences, it would be an invaluable innovation in an international college if it was routine that students share thoroughly researched essays, extended essays and other projects which focus on their own specific local, regional, national and international interests.

(2) Further to the above, it would be fair to say that if all the above were done in the spirit of an existential phenomenological approach to the IB Learner Profile and the international and intellectual aims implicit in the TOK, CAS and subject specific

guides this course would really be a bottom up course with the students quite firmly at the helm of their international priorities and interests.

(3) If the teachers and students were to encapsulate their interests in (1) and (2) above within the framework of the case study approach which I have already developed in Chapters Four, Five, Six and Seven, they would be engaged in international and intellectual activities which would insist that they explore human rights, the capabilities approach and global citizenship considerations. In addition, they would be free to explore any other philosophical, social justice and international affairs concerns which they thought might bring deeper understandings or critical thinking or richer analytical insights to the description, analysis and normative evaluations of their specific scenarios. Much of this the reader I am sure will agree is in compliance with the imperatives and the most impressive principles of the IB curriculum.

(4) The benefit of the case study approach as it has been developed throughout this thesis is that it has priorities which have both pedagogic and moral value but most importantly international value in the international affairs sense of the word. If the stages implicit in the first three chapters of this thesis are adhered to, students will not be making judgements about good and bad and right and wrong, just and unjust and legal and illegal until such time as they are profoundly or at least comprehensively familiar with the descriptive content of the 'multiple narratives' in specific international affairs scenarios. Responsible decision making needs to be based on sound intellectual understanding if it is going to be credible and intelligible. The contents of my case study approach will safeguard this.

(5) I think the case study approach can be 'single issue' or 'multiple issues' in its content. This has rich implications for both teachers and students of international affairs. For example a teacher and her students might decide to deal with a 'single issue' in the area of a philosophical theory for international affairs and in so doing they might decide to deal with the relevance, strengths and flaws of a phenomenological approach or a 'multiple narratives' approach. The focus here might be primarily descriptive but obviously there will be a focus on philosophical and political content connected to the 'lived-experiences' of peoples' lives. Similarly, also

on a theoretical level, the existential approach could be treated as a 'single theoretical issue'. It could also be connected to the idea of praxis and how students might forge a link between their own ethical and political values and how these might impel them to interact and organise with others from other nationalities. These interactions and organisational initiatives might be connected to concerns about global warming or human rights in China or the staying or withdrawal of Coalition troops from Iraq.

I think the 'single theoretical' issue approach as developed briefly above is important because it gives students the opportunity to deal with a concrete issue without their having to be encumbered by too much theory. This is clearly not intended to be a statement which undermines the role of theory in international affairs. It rather endorses the idea of theory in a realistic and practical way so it might help or meet the needs of students who are trying to make sense of international affairs. There is a sense in which every intellectual initiative on the IB has to be modified by educational considerations. This is after all what my entire thesis is about.

(6) Further to the above, 'single issue' theoretical approaches have a way of demonstrating their strengths and their limitations. I have already dealt with the strengths of the existential approach so it will certainly not be surprising that I want to focus briefly on what might be perceived by some as specific limitations. There are those for example who might add that the existential approach can only help the students deliver sound judgements on what might be good or bad or right or wrong or just and unjust or legal and illegal if it is based on reliable descriptive content which is rooted in comprehensive 'multiple narratives' understandings connected to the phenomenological approach. Similarly there are those who would say that the phenomenological approach has its limitations in the domain of international affairs problem-solving because it does not enable the students to deliver post-phenomenological normative judgements which might attempt to work out whether there are genuine moral foundations underpinning, say, the idea of a 'Two State Solution' or not.

This example of the limitations of a 'single issue' theoretical approach serves the point I am trying to make well. I say this because both students and teachers who are trying to problem-solve their way through a problem such as the 'Two State Solution'

for Israelis and Palestinians might find that the phenomenological, the 'multiple narratives' and the existential approaches will take them to a point where they feel that their understandings might be deepened by their delving into the intellectual riches of human rights, the capabilities approach or global citizenship considerations.

(7) While good and realistic and student-centred facilitation for international affairs problem-solving might be content to start descriptive analyses with the phenomenological and the 'multiple narratives' approach, the informed facilitator will encourage her students to explore a wealth of other approaches which might be Rawlsian, Wittgensteinian, Marxist or Socialist or Liberal Democratic or whatever approach the students and their teachers might find relevant, appropriate and applicable (See Chapter Three).

(8) While a single issue or 'multiple issues' theoretical approach can inform and does inform my case study approach it is important to recognise that students are often not impelled to take an interest in international affairs because of theoretical concerns. Their interest in international affairs is often driven by their concerns in domestic and local cultures in which they have been educated. Many are however also impelled and motivated by the alarming and dramatic and sometimes sensationalised accounts of 11 September, global poverty and global warming which can be found in the media. While the content of the media are variable one cannot underestimate the excellent value that much good journalism, TV and radio and informed internet connected coverage might have. Despite the fact that students are driven into international affairs because of these concerns, I still believe that the pedagogic and philosophical underpinnings of my 'case-study-approach' have a message for the IBO.

(9) A good international affairs course for the IB should really be about the real, possibly dramatic, concrete, troubling and challenging problems facing local, regional, national and international environments. In a sense what we need to be talking about here are the 'multiple narratives' or story telling about urgent political issues that we hear about in the media on a day to day basis. I have tried to make these concerns fundamental to my case study approach. For example in Chapter Four I have dealt with human rights and global citizenship concerns as they might be connected

with the concerns of the United Nations while Chapter Five focuses on human rights understandings in the context of South Africa and China. Chapter Six focuses on the 'Invasion on Iraq'. How the Israeli / Palestinian conflict might be facilitated in a conference for IB schools is considered in Appendix Two while Chapter Seven explores the possibility of facilitation pedagogy for the minimising of bias, propaganda and indoctrination for international affairs education on the IB curriculum.

The concerns of this thesis I hope will be the concerns of everyone in the IB world. I say this in keeping with the above insistence that international affairs is really about 'dramatic, concrete, troubling and challenging problems facing, local, regional and international environments'. Can an education be genuinely called international if all our students are not dealing with these issues on a routine basis?

(10) What is particularly important about my case study approach is that it attempts to deal with concrete local, regional, national and international problems in a theoretical way. The reader will find throughout each case study, theoretical concerns which might involve existential, phenomenological, 'narrative', 'multiple narratives', human rights, the capabilities approach and global citizenship considerations. They will also notice that these theoretical approaches are used to make sense of the descriptive data inherent in each international affairs scenario. What needs to be recognised here is that this theoretical way of dealing with issues in international affairs scenarios is really also a very practical way of making sense of scenarios. In my view theory must have practical implications; I certainly do not accept the view that a philosophy might be good in theory but it does not work in practice. A theory can surely only be good if it works in practice?

(11) I would like to think that my facilitation pedagogy which is rooted in existential phenomenology has worked well within the framework of my case study approach. I would also like to think that what students appreciate about the case study approach is that it offers a framework for description, analysis, understanding, critical thinking, problem-solving and normative judgements on matters of good and bad, right and wrong, just and unjust and legal and illegal in international affairs scenarios. While it is impossible to exclude the normative throughout any of these stages it is

important to recognise that the students will only make their final normative judgements after comprehensive description and analysis has taken place.

Is there any evidence to suggest that there are any other university preparation programs that endorse the idea of a compulsory international affairs programme?

Sometimes one can come across just the right documentation at the right time and in the right place. The recently established Cambridge Pre-University Diploma seems to be aiming at almost the same kind of thing that my entire thesis is advocating. As I have just come across this quotation at the time of writing this final chapter of my thesis I feel I need to quote it extensively because it goes a long way to supporting what I have been saying in a number of chapters of this thesis. Besides it is also highly compatible with TOK, CAS, IB Learner Profile and IB Mission Statement quotations about international affairs education on the IB I quote in full (See Section Five of Appendix One).

I am pleased I came across this Global Perspectives initiative by the architects of the Cambridge Pre-University Diploma. The reader of my thesis will be able to confirm that there is nothing in the quotation in Section Five in Appendix One which is incompatible with the contents of my thesis. There is of course one exception and that is that 'the students will be involved in testing and evaluating assertions and arguments, seeking out and assessing sources of information, interpreting the significance of facts uncovered, and reflecting on implications. Critical thinking, research methods, communication and reflection will be key parts of the process' (See Section Five in Appendix One). While these 'testing and evaluations of assertions' could be considered to have 'international affairs' or 'global perspectives' value I would personally not want to step on the toes of people who were committed to the aims and objectives of the TOK programme. What is distinctive about the 'International Affairs' Programme that I envisage is that its content will more specifically be born out of the existential phenomenological approach which underpins my facilitation pedagogy in this thesis. Below I provide a provisional list of topics so as to ensure that I identify an emphatic difference in content between the topics one might find in the Cambridge Pre-University Diploma's global perspectives course and my compulsory international affairs programme for the IB. I say this not

because I think the global perspectives topics are not relevant to international affairs but rather because I believe that they fall more specifically within the ambit of TOK. The topics which will be considered more appropriate to international affairs will include the following:

- (1) The functioning of the United Nations in contemporary international relations. All the students in an international school should be encouraged to share an understanding of the achievements and problems facing their countries in and outside the UN. This would be good for the individual students and for the international school.
- (2) The relevance of human rights and international law in contemporary international affairs debates. The concerns of cosmopolitanism and 'neo-conservatism' and other ideologies should be debated.
- (3) The global citizenship achievements of various nations
- (4) USA Foreign Policy on the Middle East
- (5) Arguments for and Against USA Foreign Policy in different parts of the world
- (6) Peace and Reconciliation in the Modern World
- (7) The Politics of Oil
- (8) Student selected discussions on international themes in the modern world
- (9) Economic Globalization: Arguments for and Against
- (10) Selected international affairs analyses of issues in countries which might include one or two or three of the following: Russia, China, Japan, South Korea, North Korea and any other country in the world
- (11) Achievements and problems connected to the developing world
- (12) The Clash of Civilisations: A Critique
- (13) The role and growth of the European Union
- (14) The Global Warming Debate
- (15) A detailed study or even an Extended Essay chosen on any topic which might interest any student

Needless to say, this is hardly a satisfactory or nearly comprehensive enough menu but it certainly touches on some of the concerns which I have been discussing with students in my international affairs classes over the years. However, against the background of this brief list and any other topics which my readers might like to add,

I believe that my existential phenomenological approach in the context of international affairs education will be helpful in supporting the International Baccalaureate's achievement of the aims of international education mentioned throughout the thesis.

There is of course much in the above list which would also be compatible with the compulsory citizenship programme in the UK National Curriculum in England and Wales. However, once again there is no specification in this curriculum which emphasises a comprehensive approach to international affairs education in the way that I do. Against the background of my comments on both the Cambridge Pre-University Diploma and the compulsory Citizenship programme for A Level students in England and Wales, I believe that a compulsory international affairs programme on the IB would enable it to strengthen its competitive edge against these competitors.

In my discussion with colleagues and others about the contents of my thesis I have heard some say that a compulsory international affairs course would be the cause of conflict in IB classrooms. One colleague claimed that the kind of propagandistic approach that emerged in St Claire's High School in Pennsylvania was just the kind of negative consequence one could expect from international affairs education (See Chapter Seven). My response to this view is that if international affairs is taught in a positive and constructive way as I emphasise in my existential phenomenological approach in my case studies, then neither students nor their parents nor their teachers should feel that biased teaching will be routine in IB international affairs classrooms. I have heard colleagues who have taught in IB schools in the Arab World say that it would be very difficult to deal with gender or sexual or religious or cultural and political issues in a 'multiple narratives' approach in an IB school where cultural sensitivities to certain 'narratives' or points of view would be inflamed. The important thing of course to recognise in this context is that the IB Learner Profile, the ethics and politics requirements and imperatives of the TOK, CAS and subject specific guides which I emphasise in Chapter One demand that IB schools discuss issues even if they could be a recipe for disagreement or argument or heated debate.

The facilitation pedagogy of this thesis emphasises dialogue and critical thinking on international issues. Neither my facilitation pedagogy nor the international

expectations of the IB curriculum allow space for anyone in the IB world to evade or escape their responsibilities for engaging in human rights or global citizenship or other social justice considerations in our global community.

Conclusion

While it is clear that that role of philosophy in TOK, CAS and other areas of the curriculum is important, what is not clear to those who might not be philosophically literate about the IB, is that the contents of my thesis can play a highly relevant role in the philosophical, Theory of Knowledge (TOK) and other subject and cross-curricular emphases in the IB curriculum. My thesis strongly suggests that International Affairs should like The Theory of Knowledge (TOK) be a compulsory part of the International Baccalaureate curriculum. Even if this never materialises, I believe that I have produced a thesis which can be used as pedagogic resource for managers, teachers and students in the Languages, Individual and Societies, PSHE, Theory of Knowledge (TOK), Creativity, Action and Service (CAS), International Day, School Trip and other dimensions of the International Baccalaureate curriculum.

I believe this because the contents of the thesis can be inspirational in serving the International Baccalaureate community in a way which is compatible with the highest ideals of the International Baccalaureate community. These are embedded in much of the literature on the IB which is reflected in both the Appendix and the bibliography. One cannot perhaps do greater justice to the spirit, content and ambitions of my thesis by emphasising what a leading authority in the International Baccalaureate community says in the following:

The question must always be at the forefront of our minds – are global issues a necessary component of a balanced curriculum for the twenty-first century? It is the case that most of our curriculum in the twentieth century, certainly its latter half, has been unchanging. Syllabuses have changed, of course, as have assessment strategies, but 16+ and 18+ examinations and courses have been merely remodelled to take account of educational research and social needs. No radical thinking has been introduced in which a detailed consideration is made of what young people need in order to face their working lives in the twenty-first century. The context of the years 2010-50 has not really been addressed and it is in these years that today's school pupils will be working and living. We are all subject to the doomsday scenarios of the media and of literature. The Antarctic is melting, it is not safe to sunbathe, tribal and religious conflict and violence are rarely out of the news, the information technology

revolution is changing our lives, social structures appear to be breaking down. The mood is of decline and fall and not of optimism – or even of consideration of what the future may bring. Of course, there is excitement of the year 2000 and the millennium celebration, but on the cold dawn of 1 January 2000 the future will stretch ahead. What will it hold? How are we preparing the coming generations to face it? In education our eyes are firmly on standards, but are they the standards for the right things?

The case for preparing young people for the future must be at the core of all we do. This preparation must not be about destruction, failure and misery but rather about hope and success, and the actions that will bring these about. That is why we must look at a global issues approach for everyone.

(Jenkins 1998 pp.95-96)

When Colin Jenkins wrote this article in 1998 momentous changes had taken place in terms of the ending of the Cold War and the coming down of the Berlin Wall. Since then, there has been 11 September 2001, the invasion of Afghanistan, the war in Iraq, The Tsunami and numerous other conflicts and disasters which have been mentioned in this thesis. However, what must be confirmed here is that I along with Jenkins advocate that the need for the IB to have a compulsory International Affairs or global issues course is more pressing than ever before. In the interests of greater International Affairs literacy on the IB curriculum I rest my case in the hope that the IB students of today who are the global citizens of tomorrow can play a role in making our world a better place.

Endnotes

¹ (see page 132) As expressed in the following passage (and in the further Davis passage cited in Chapter Four):

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenants provide a moral and legal framework for freeing the individual from terror and oppression and, eventually, also from poverty and want. It can only damage the individual citizen if governments try to play civil and political rights off against economic, social and cultural rights, while failing to deliver on either. Collective and individual rights are but two sides of a single coin. As individuals, we should extend to others across society precisely those rights which we would wish others to extend to us.

Any form of 'development' worthy of that name must involve education, democracy and human rights. Repression is not a means to economic development. Respect for human rights is not an obstacle to economic growth, and is indeed, a precondition for sustaining it. Development is a legitimate expectation, but it is never an acceptable excuse for failing to respect other human rights.

The developed-world has made forthright commitments to the international promotion of human rights through their foreign policies, sometimes including their development aid programs. In reality, however, actions they have taken, or refrained from taking on human rights grounds, have often been politically selective rather than principled and consistent. Unless policies are credible and consistent, they will continue to be viewed by the developing world as the assertion of cultural superiority and moral condescension.

(Davis 1995 p.64)

² (see page 148) Held had previously stated:

Clues as to what internationalism should mean today can be found in the emergent cosmopolitan values and standards, documented in part III, that characterise some leading elements of the multi-lateral political and legal order. What does cosmopolitanism mean in this context? In the first instance, cosmopolitanism refers to those basic values that set down standards or boundaries which no agent, whether a representative of a global body, state or civil association, should be able to violate. Focused on the claims of each person as an individual or as a member of humanity as a whole, these values espouse the idea that human beings are in a fundamental sense equal, and that they deserve equal treatment; that is, treatment based on the equal care and consideration of their agency, irrespective of the community in which they were born or brought up. After two hundred years of nationalism and sustained nation-state formation, such values could be thought of as out of place. But such values are already enshrined in the law of war, human rights law and the statute of the ICC, among many other international rules and legal arrangements.

Second, cosmopolitanism can be taken to refer to those forms of political regulation and lawmaking that create powers, rights and constraints which go beyond the claims of nation-states and which have far reaching consequences, in principle, for the nature and form of political power. These regulatory forms can be found in the domain between national law and regulation-the space between domestic law which regulates the relations

between a state and its citizens, and traditional international law which applies primarily to states and interstate relations. This space is already filled by a plethora of legal regulation, from the legal instruments of the EU, and the international human rights regime as a global framework for promoting rights, to the diverse agreements of arms control system and environmental regimes. Cosmopolitanism is not made up of political ideals for another age, but embedded in rule systems and institutions which have already transformed state sovereignty in distinct ways.

Yet the precise sense in which these developments constitute a form of 'cosmopolitanism' remains to be clarified, especially given the ideas of cosmopolitanism have a long and complex history. For my purposes here, cosmopolitanism can be taken as the moral and political outlook which builds on the strengths of the liberal multilateral order, particularly its commitment to universal standards, human rights and democratic values, and which seeks to specify general principles on which all could act. These are principles which can be universally shared, and can form the basis for protection and nurturing of each person's equal interest in the determination of institutions which govern their lives.

³ (see page 149) Some of these issues can be summarised, following Nussbaum's approach, as:

- (1) life
- (2) bodily health
- (3) bodily Integrity
- (4) senses, imagination and thought
- (5) emotions
- (6) practical reason
- (7) affiliation
- (8) other species
- (9) play
- (10) control over one's environment

⁴ (see page 151) Maybe the facilitator should get all her students to consider the wisdom in the following:

The idea of human dignity has broad cross-cultural resonance and intuitive power. We can think of it as the idea that lies at the heart of tragic artworks, in whatever culture. Think of a tragic character, assailed by fortune. We react to the spectacle of humanity assailed in a way very different from the way we react to a storm blowing grains of sand in the wind. For we see a human being as having worth as an end, a kind of awe-inspiring something that makes it horrible to see this person beaten down by the currents of chance – and wonderful, at the same time, to witness the way in which chance has not completely eclipsed the humanity of the person. As Aristotle puts it, "the

noble shines through.” Such responses provide us with strong incentives for protecting that in persons that fills us with awe. We see the person as having activity, goals, and projects – as somehow awe-inspiringly above the mechanical workings of nature, and yet in need of support for the fulfilment of many central projects. This idea has many forms, some religious some secular. Insofar as we are able to respond to tragic tales from other cultures, we show that this idea of human worth and agency crosses cultural boundaries.

(Nussbaum 2000 p.298-299)

⁵ (see page 154) This is certainly apparent in the following text:

So where do we go from here? Again, it is not hard to see where America is going. The September 11 attacks shifted and accelerated but did not fundamentally alter a course the United States was already on. They certainly did not alter but only reinforced American attitudes toward power. Recall that even before September 11, Acheson’s successors were still, if somewhat distractedly, building “situations of strength” around the world. Before September 11, and indeed, even before the election of George W Bush, American strategic thinkers were looking ahead to the next strategic challenges that seemed likely to arise. One of those challenges was Iraq. During the Clinton years, Congress had passed a nearly unanimous vote a bill authorizing military and financial support for Iraqi opposition forces, and the second Bush administration was considering plans to destabilize Iraq before the terrorists struck on September 11. The Clinton Administration also laid the foundations for a new ballistic missile defense system to defend against rogue states such as Iraq, Iran and North Korea. Had Al Gore been elected, and had there been no terrorist attacks on Sept 11, these programs – aimed squarely at Bush’s “axis of evil” – would still be under way.

Americans before September 11 were augmenting, not diminishing, their military power. In the 2000 election campaign, Bush and Gore both promised to increase defense spending, responding not to any particular threat but only to the general perception that the American Defense budget – then running a close to \$300 billion per year --- was inadequate to meet the nation’s strategic requirements. American military and civilian leaders inside and outside the Pentagon were seized with the need to modernise American forces, to take advantage of what was and is regarded as a “revolution in military affairs” that could change the very nature of the way wars are fought. Behind this enthusiasm was a genuine concern that if the United States did not make the necessary investments in the technological transformation, its forces, its security, and the world’s security would be at risk in future.

Before September 11, the American strategic community had begun to focus its attention on China. Few believed that a war with China was probable in the near future --- unless as a result of some crisis over Taiwan-but many believed that some confrontation with China would become increasingly likely within the coming two decades, as China’s military capacity and geopolitical ambitions grew. This concern about China was one of the driving forces behind the demand for technological modernization of the American military; it was, quietly one of the motives behind the push for a new missile defense program; and in a broad sense it had already become an organizing principle of American strategic planning. The view of China as the next big strategic

challenge took hold in the Clinton Pentagon, and was given official sanction by President Bush when he declared pointedly before and after his election that China was not a strategic partner but a strategic competitor with the USA.
(Kagan 2003 pp.91-93)

⁶ (see page 175) Part of Younge's discussion of Horowitz may be usefully reported:

He is involved with Campus Watch, Jihad Watch, Professors Watch and Media Watch; he was also connected to discoverthenetworks.org, which targeted Gilroy. A few years ago he founded a group, *Students for Academic Freedom*, which boasts charters promoting his agenda on more than 150 campuses. The movement monitors slights or insults that students say they have suffered, and provides an online complaints form. Students are advised to write down "the date, class and name of the professor", get witnesses, "accumulate a list of incidents or quotes", and lodge a complaint. Over the last three years Horowitz has led the call for an academic bill of rights in several states. The bills would allow students to opt out of any part of a course they felt was "personally offensive" and force American universities to adopt quotas for conservative professors as well as monitor the political inclinations of the staff.

The bill has been debated in 23 states, including six this year. In July, Pennsylvania approved legislation calling on 14 state-affiliated colleges to free their campuses from 'the imposition of ideological orthodoxy'. Meanwhile, House Republicans have included a provision in the Higher Education Act which calls on publicly funded colleges to ensure a diversity of ideas in class – code for countering the alleged liberal bias in classrooms.

(Gary Younge 'The Silencing of Left Wing Academics in the USA', 4 April, 2005, *The Guardian* G2 pp 8-9).

⁷ (see page 176) Perhaps the above ideas are more profoundly developed in the following:

Bias is something that few of us, if any, are free from and while it is legitimate and entirely natural for teachers to have their own commitments it cannot be acceptable for them to teach in a biased way. It may however, be legitimate for them to teach in a committed way in order to change some individual attitudes in the classroom – such as racist or sexist remarks. Society, which is a liberal democracy, is not neutral and expects teachers to promote procedural values which include applying democratic principles within the community, beginning in the classroom. The ability to deal with bias is taught in a few National Curriculum subjects, particularly history. Citizenship education teachers will need to develop further a pupil's ability to detect bias in contemporary human activities. In order to teach pupils how to avoid bias it is important that teachers design classroom activities that assist in the detection or the identification of:

- the omission of information and alternative points of view in books, films, newspapers, radio, television and other forms of media;
- the deliberate highlighting of certain facts to the exclusion of others;
- the appearance of prejudice and discriminatory practices;
- the creation of 'facts' or 'evidence';
- the use of loaded vocabulary;

-
- the presentation of value judgements, opinions or views as facts; and
 - the avoidance of accepting the significance of contradictory facts.
- Pupils need to recognise that all sources are incomplete in themselves or as Bernard Jones (1991:26) says: 'If education has a legitimate bias, it is towards truth. If teachers have a legitimate bias it must be towards objectivity which seeks the truth. The adoption of strategies and techniques which negate the effect, intended or otherwise, of bias within the class-room, and encourage the students to negate the effect, often intended, of bias from without'. Consequently, teachers need to teach as objectively as possible having due regard for the age, ability and experience of pupils. However, it is far more likely that you will experience a range of bias, or indeed prejudice, among your pupils than consciously teach anything that is overtly biased.

(Arthur & Wright 2003 p.76-77)

Appendix One: UDHR and IB Diagrams

Section One

This section of the Appendix has been taken from 'Osler and Starkey, 2005'

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights

Preamble

Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world,

Whereas disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people,

Whereas it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law,

Whereas it is essential to promote the development of friendly relations between nations,

Whereas the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights men and women and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

Whereas Member States have pledged themselves to achieve, in cooperation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms,

Whereas a common understanding of these rights and freedoms is of the greatest importance for the full realization of this pledge, NOW, therefore, The General Assembly, Proclaims this Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction.

Article 1

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Article 2

Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

Article 3

Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

Article 4

No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

Article 5

No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Article 6

Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

Article 7

All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

Article 8

Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

Article 9

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

Article 10

Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

Article 11

1. Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defense.

2 No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed.

Article 12

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, not to attacks upon his honor and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

Article 13

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each State.
2. Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

Article 14

1. Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.
2. This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 15

1. Everyone has the right to a nationality.
2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

Article 16

1. Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.
2. Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.
3. The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.

Article 17

1. Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.
2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

Article 18

Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

Article 19

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Article 20

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.
2. No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

Article 21

1. Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.
2. Everyone has the right to equal access to public service in his country.
3. The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

Article 22

Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international cooperation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

Article 23

1. Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favorable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.
2. Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.
3. Everyone who works has the right to just and favorable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.
4. Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

Article 24

Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

Article 25

1. Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.
2. Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

Article 26

1. Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally

available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

2. Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.
3. Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

Article 27

1. Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.
2. Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.

Article 28

Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.

Article 29

1. Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.
2. In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.
3. These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 30

Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.

Section Two

This section of the Appendix has been taken from 'Osler and Starkey, 2005'

UNICEF UK's unofficial summary of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child.

Article 1

Everyone under 18 years of age has all the rights in the Convention.

Article 2

The Convention applies to everyone whatever their race, religion, abilities, whatever they think or say, whatever type of family they come from.

Article 3

All organization concerned with children should work towards what is best for each child.

Article 4

Governments should work to make these rights available to children.

Article 5

Governments should respect the rights and responsibilities of families to direct and guide their children so that, as they grow, they learn to use their rights and properly.

Article 6

All children have the right to life. Governments should ensure that children survive and develop healthily.

Article 7

All children have the right to a legally registered name, the right to a nationality and the right to know and, as far as possible, to be cared for by their parents.

Article 8

Governments should respect children's right to a name, a nationality, and family ties.

Article 9

Children should not be separated from their parents unless it is for their own good, for example if a parent is mistreating or neglecting a child. Children whose parents have separated have the right to stay in contact with both parents, unless this might harm the child.

Article 10

Families who live in different countries should be allowed to move between those countries so that parents and children can stay in contact or get back together as a family.

Article 11

Governments should take steps to stop children being taken out of their own country illegally.

Article 12

Children have the right to say what they think should happen, when adults are making decisions that affect them, and to have their opinions taken into account.

Article 13

Children have the right to get and share information as long as the information is not damaging to them or to others.

Article 14

Children have the right to think and believe what they want and to practice their religion, as long as they are not stopping other people from enjoying their rights. Parents should guide their children on these matters.

Article 15

Children have the right to meet together and to join organizations, as long as this does not stop other people from enjoying their rights.

Article 16

Children have the right to privacy. The law should protect them from attacks against their way of life, their good name, their families and their homes.

Article 17

Children have the right to reliable information from the mass media. Television, radio, and newspapers should provide information that children can understand, and should not promote materials that could harm children.

Article 18

Both parents share responsibility for bringing up their children, and should always consider what is best for the child. Governments should help parents by providing services to support them, especially if both parents work.

Article 19

Governments should ensure that children are properly cared for, and protect them from violence, abuse and neglect by their parents or anyone else who looks after them.

Article 20

Children who cannot be looked after by their own families must be looked after properly, by people who respect their religion, culture and language.

Article 21

When children are adopted the first concern must be what is best for them. The same rules should apply whether the children are adopted in the country where they were born or taken to live in another country.

Article 22

Children who come into a country as refugees should have the same rights as children born in that country.

Article 23

Children who have any kind of disability should have special care and support so they can live full and independent lives.

Article 24

Children have the right to good quality health care and to clean water, nutritious food and a clean environment so that they will stay healthy. Rich countries should help poorer countries achieve this.

Article 25

Children who are looked after by their local authority rather than their parents should have their situation reviewed regularly.

Article 26

The government should provide extra money for the children of families in need.

Article 27

Children have a right to a standard of living that is good enough to meet their physical and mental needs. The government should help families who cannot afford to provide this.

Article 28

Children have a right to an education. Discipline in schools should respect children's human dignity. Primary education should be free. Wealthy countries should help poorer countries achieve this.

Article 29

Education should develop each child's personality and talents to the full. It should encourage children to respect their parents, their own and other cultures.

Article 30

Children have a right to learn and use the language and customs of their families, whether these are shared by the majority of the people in the country they live or not.

Article 31

All children have a right to relax and play, and to join in a wide range of activities.

Article 32

The government should protect children from work that is dangerous or might harm their health or their education.

Article 33

The government should provide ways of protecting children from dangerous drugs.

Article 34

The government should protect children from sexual abuse.

Article 35

The government should make sure that children are not abducted or sold.

Article 36

Children should be protected from any activities that could harm their development.

Article 37

Children who break the law should not be treated cruelly. They should not be put in prison with adults and should be able to keep contact with their families.

Article 38

Governments should not allow children under 15 to join the army. Children in war zones should receive special protection.

Article 39

Children who have been neglected or abused should receive special help to restore their self-respect.

Article 40

Children who are accused of breaking the law should receive legal help. Prison sentences for children should only be used for the most serious offences.

Article 41

If the laws of a particular country protect children better than the articles of the Convention, then those laws should stay.

Article 42

The government should make the Convention known to all parents and children.

Article 43-54

Are about how adults and governments should work together to make sure all children get all their rights.

Section Three

This section of the Appendix has been taken from 'Osler and Starkey, 2005'

UN Convention on the Rights of the Child: selected articles of particular relevance to education.

Article 12

1. States Parties shall assure to the child who is capable of forming his or her own views the right to express those views freely in all matters affecting the child, the views of the child being given due weight in accordance with the age and the maturity of the child.
2. For this purpose, the child in particular be provided the opportunity to be heard in any judicial and administrative proceedings affecting the child, either directly, or through a representative or an appropriate body, in a manner consistent with procedural rules of national law.

Article 28

1. States Parties recognize the right of the child to education and with a view to achieving this right progressively and on the basis of equal opportunity, they shall, in particular:
 - (a) make primary education compulsory and available free to all;
 - (b) encourage the development of different forms of secondary education, including general and vocational education, make them available and accessible to every child, and take appropriate measures such as the introduction of free education and offering financial assistance in case of need
 - (c) Make higher education accessible to all on the basis of capacity by every appropriate means;
 - (d) Make educational and vocational information and guidance available and accessible to all children;
 - (e) Take measures to encourage regular attendance at schools and the reduction of dropout rates.
2. States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to ensure that school discipline is administered in a manner consistent with the child's human dignity and in conformity with the present Convention.
3. States parties shall promote and encourage international co-operation in matters relating to education in particular with a view to contributing to the elimination of ignorance and illiteracy throughout the world and facilitating access to scientific and technical knowledge and modern teaching methods. In this regard, particular account shall be taken of the needs of developing countries.

Article 29

1. States Parties agree that the education of the child shall be directed to:
 - (a) the development of the child's personality, talents and mental and physical abilities to their highest potential;
 - (b) the development of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and for the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations;
 - (c) the development of respect for the child's parents, his or her own cultural identity language and values, for the national values of the country in which

the child is living, the country from which he she may originate, and for civilizations different from his or her own.

- (d) The preparation of the child for responsible life in a free society, in the spirit of understanding, peace tolerance, equality of sexes and friendship among all peoples, ethnic, national and religious groups and persons in indigenous origin;
- (e) The development of respect for the natural environment.

2. No part of this article or article 28 shall be construed so as to interfere with the liberty of individuals and bodies to establish and direct educational institutions, subject always to the observance of the principles set forth in paragraph 1 of the present article and to the requirements that the education given in such institutions shall conform to such minimum standards as may be laid down by the State.

Section Four

Diagram representing the Theory of Knowledge (TOK) course outline

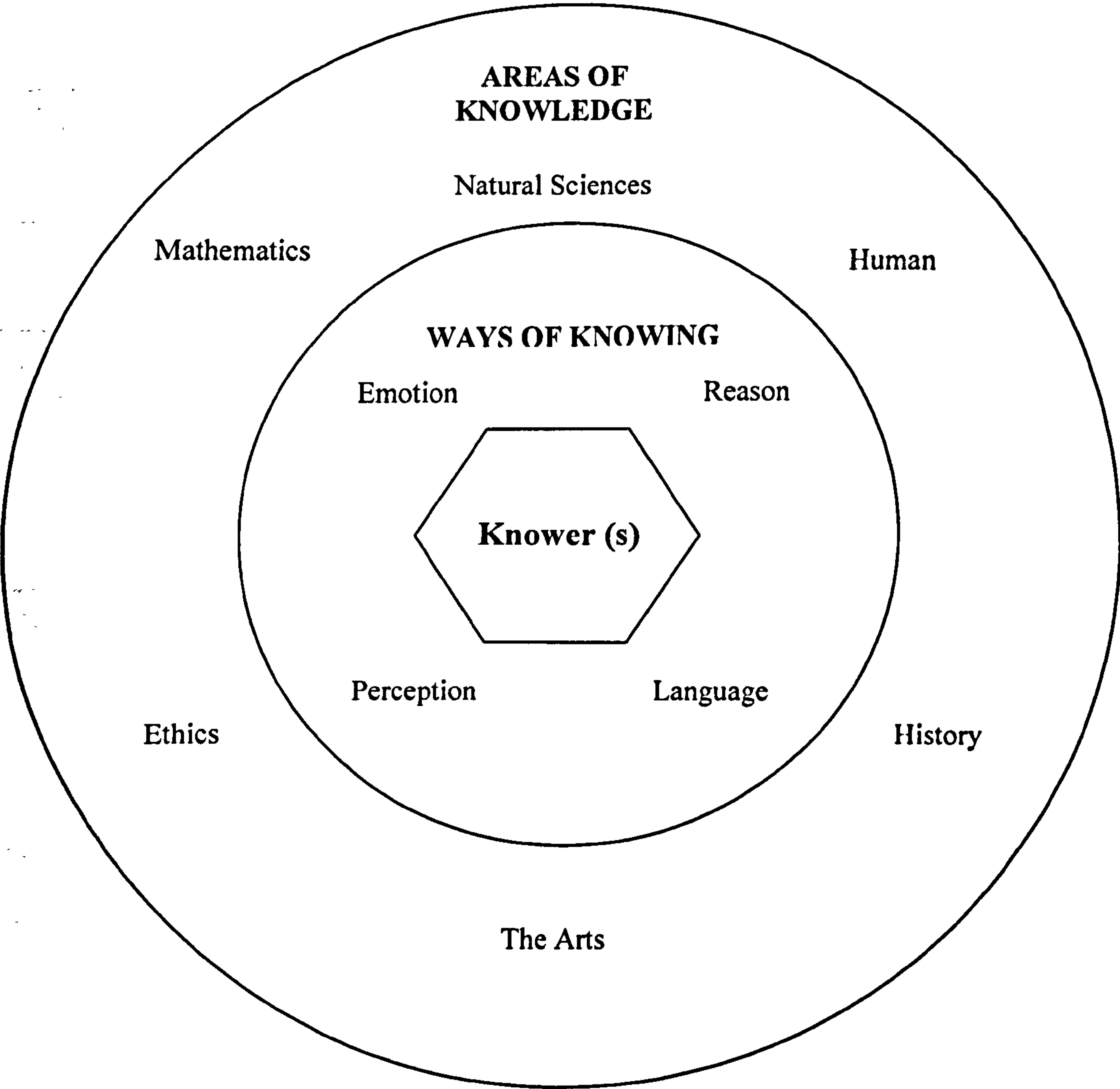
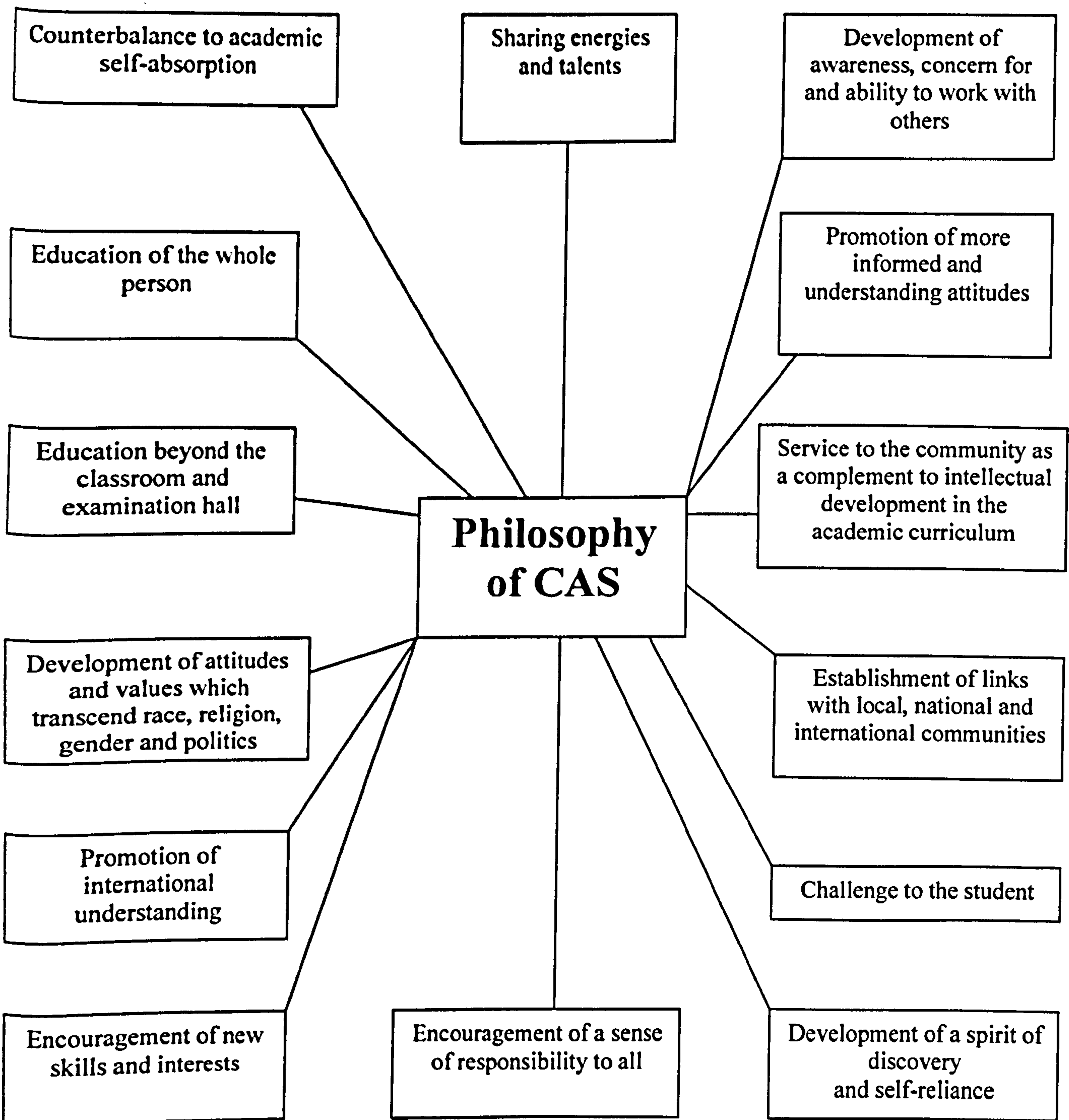


Diagram representing the Creativity, Action and Service (CAS) course outline



Section Five

The aims of the Cambridge Pre-University Diploma

Cambridge Pre-University Global Perspectives aims to equip students with the skills and insights needed to participate and contribute to life in a global community.

Global Perspectives is a core component of the full Cambridge Pre-U Diploma Programme and provides students with:

- A focus on real-world challenges and opportunities
- A practical introduction to critical thinking and research skills
- A Chance to cross over subjects and seek connections
- A skills base from which to embark on the Independent Research Report

Global Perspectives takes key themes of global relevance and of intrinsic interest to young people, and encourages students to explore them in an open and critical way. The focus is on the process, not the product, of learning.

More specifically, the syllabus seeks to:

- Promote a constructive engagement with the world, and particularly with diverse perspectives on shared problems;
- Encouraging a questioning disposition, unwilling to take things for granted, and ready to think outside familiar frames of reference;
- Foster an independent outlook, self-motivated and scholarly.

The outcome of the syllabus is intended to be transformative giving young people a new means of understanding and interpreting the world, by encouraging reflection on their own and others' perspectives.

Students will be involved in testing and evaluating assertions and arguments, seeking out and assessing sources of information, interpreting the significance of facts uncovered, and reflecting on implications. Critical thinking, research methods, communication and reflection will be key parts of the process.

The starting point will be to equip students to break open assertions like those below, and explore their implications:

'English is not an international language, after the fashion of Spanish or Russian, but a world language.' Francois Chevillet

'As a medical microbiologist, I have spent my career fighting biodiversity.' Hugh Pennington

'By and large all measurable indicators of human welfare show improvement.' Bjorn Lomborg

Through a series of seminars, students will explore a number of topics, and build up an e-portfolio. The criterion for inclusion is that the theme or topic must represent a challenge, issue or opportunity that will be faced by any young person, wherever in the world they happen to live or work. The e-portfolio will include evidence of critical thinking skills, disciplined research, methodology, self-direction, coherent reasoning, reflection, coherent reasoning, reflection and empathy.

Support material for Global Perspectives will include a 'model' unit of study that serves an induction. This will encourage students to think critically about the idea that English is now the world language. The evidence will be explored, with students being asked to develop a strategy to identify, gather and evaluate relevant material. Students will be encouraged to consider alternative points of view. The conclusions will then be subjected to further scrutiny – how confident can we be? How much do they alter the student's own a priori assumptions?

The proposal to include a core Global Perspectives component in the Cambridge Pre-U Diploma met with considerable support from universities. Cambridge University welcomed it as a means of developing coherent breadth. University College London considers it to be a 'welcome and relevant conclusion' in the Diploma; while Bristol University said 'This should encourage students to be more aware of the international context, and will also allow them to hone their research skills.'

(Cambridge Newsletter June 2007 in www.cie.org.uk)

Appendix Two: Facilitation of a student-led conference on the Palestine-Israel Question

Critical thinking in an existential pedagogy for the facilitation of multiple understandings of Israel and Palestine

Introduction

As this is the last part of the thesis containing fairly detailed regional case study material for International Affairs facilitation on the IB which was written in the earlier stages of 2006, I have decided that it must reflect existential pedagogy at its most comprehensive. In addition, the pedagogy emphasised here can be used for all the case study material of the previous chapters. However before emphasising the pedagogy proper I have found that in order to at least attempt to do justice to this topic in the past it is always a good idea for students to have at least a minimum reading list of materials which might help with their understanding of this complex topic. These might include the following:

Abu-Nimer (1999), Abu-Rabi (2003), Baderin (2003), Bishara (2001), Bregman & El Tahri (1998), Buber (1947), Carey (2001), Chomsky (1998, 1999 a, b, c, 1999 a, b, c 2000 a, b), Darke & Rustin (2004), Dowty (2001), Dwyer (1991), Frankl (1967, 1992), Halabi (2000), Huntington (1996), Lewis (2002, 2003), Pappe (1999), Rubin (1999), Sacks (2004), Said (2000), Said & Barsamian (2003), Sartre (1995), Shlaim (1995, 2000), Van Ments (1989, 1990)

This list provides the students with opportunities to explore opposing thinkers such as Shlaim on the one hand and Bishara on the other. Both these individuals have common ground but different sympathies and understandings of the problems facing Palestinians and Israelis. Similarly Bernard Lewis and Edward Said have different understandings of the Muslim and Arab worlds. The list offers the students an opportunity to explore the 'multiple narratives' of the Israel / Palestine situation.

One of the problems in the previous chapters was that the credibility of International Affairs as a subject on the IB was as much an intellectual challenge to be developed as were both the philosophical approach of the facilitation pedagogy and the facilitation pedagogy itself in action. The challenge of striking a balance between

focusing on the curriculum content of International Affairs and the curriculum pedagogy is less of a problem here because the focus will mainly be on the pedagogy rather than the curriculum content of International Affairs. Getting the balance right throughout the thesis has been one of the major challenges. In some respects there has occasionally been an overemphasis on the descriptive elements of International Affairs rather than facilitation philosophy. In this Appendix I try to correct this imbalance.

In this Appendix the end point or intended culmination is a Conference on the Palestinian / Israeli Question to be hosted by an International IB College in Oxford. The reason for my doing this is deeply connected to other Middle East conferences I have run for International Baccalaureate students. I now have the benefit of hindsight and have been able to reflect on both the achievements and shortcomings that have prevailed in previous conferences. One of the reasons underpinning the rationale of the student-designed conference which is reconstructed here is that in the past I have felt too many students were academically ill prepared to play a constructive role in a conference. This point is not intended to undermine the contributions of those who had played a meaningful role because they were by nature and habit inclined to stay up to date on International Affairs scenarios. The important point to be made here is that the facilitating students have to play the kind of awareness-raising role which will motivate and empower their peers to understand the basic principles that are exploited in the philosophical approaches used throughout this thesis. This at face value might sound like an impossible task but it is not. While these intellectually gifted and philosophically capable students will have understood the existential-phenomenological approach in philosophical terms it will not be too difficult for them in facilitating the activities of their peers to articulate in their own register and tone the following:

The existential phenomenological approach in action

(1) The existential

What you think is really important so don't allow yourself to be patronised. Think in terms of your own political philosophy and be mindful of the implications of your

duties and obligations and the consequences of your choices to the participants in any social justice scenario. Read and dialogue widely but do not allow yourself to be railroaded into agreements which conflict with what you really think. By operating like this you will bring a greater level of critical thinking to bear on your group discussions on International Affairs scenarios (Frankl 1992) (Greene 1973, 1986, 1988) (Sartre, 1948, 1958, 1960, 1974, 1992).

(2) The phenomenological

In your analyses be mindful of your narrative or world view or life experience in the same way that you might try and understand and respect the lived experiences of the Jews, the Muslims, the Christians, the North Americans, the Europeans and those living in the Diaspora in the Arab and other worlds. Be comprehensive and try not to leave a stone unturned in your explorations about these main players and the justice they desire in this complex scenario with its complex history of 'narratives' and 'multiple narratives'. Try to understand all these narratives so you can understand the problems the leadership are facing when they have to respond to the needs of their constituents (Chomsky 1999c, 2000a, 2003a) (Denton 1974) (Kagan 2003) (Kneller 1964) (Said 2000, 2003) (Vandenberg 1997) (Van Manen 1997).

(3) Global Citizenship and Human Rights

Be up to date on what UN representatives from different countries might be saying about Israel / Palestine. While the views of individual members might be important be quite aware of the content of discussions in the Security Council and the many UN Resolutions connected to Israel / Palestine. Read about the multiple histories and narratives of the many individuals like Golda Meier and Yasser Arafat and Yitzhak Rabin who fought tooth and nail for justice for their peoples! If you want to consider yourself a global citizen, you need to be even-handed in your assessment of situations. Read and listen to all the voices in this complex struggle but rather than rush to judgement, it is perhaps better to say that you are not sure or that for the present moment you wish to reserve judgement. This is not an unusual situation to be in when it comes to one discussing the Middle East. This problem is complex to say the least and continues to trouble some of the most eminent politicians and academics of our

times. In any event it is important to read the thoughts, words and interpretations of leaders and authors like Avi Shlaim, Noam Chomsky, Edward Said and Bill Clinton before you make up your mind on these issues. On the matter of human rights it is important that one looks at the evidence which substantiates the argument that there are human rights abuses occurring in this region. It is also important that one looks at the underlying reasons for the Occupation and also why a 'Wall' has been built through the West Bank. An even-handed approach to injustices on both sides would imply historical understanding but it would also suggest that there might be individuals and organisations on both sides of the divide that might be responsible for the misery of the status quo. Comments like 'We will suicide bomb our way to the destruction of the State of Israel' are no encouragement to the Israelis ending the Occupation. On the other hand it is not useful to hear certain Israeli politicians like Benjamin Netanyahu talk as if there never will be a Palestinian state. What is going to be intellectually challenging for the facilitators is the recent election victory of Hamas in January 2006 and how representation of Hamas might or might not be incorporated and fully represented in the conference. Whatever the case, the Conference will be highly flawed if the views of the democratically elected leadership of the Palestinians are not represented (Anderson-Gold 2001) (Forsythe 2002) (Shlaim 1995, 2000) (Chomsky 1999c, 2000b) (Dower 2002, 2003) (Held 1995, 2002, 2004) (Said 2000, 2003).

(4) The Capabilities Approach

You can explore all sorts of websites connected to the misery of the lives of women and children in the West Bank and how the capabilities approach might be informative and helpful in understanding how a democratic Palestinian State might enable and empower women and children to lead freer, more creative and more flourishing lives. Further, one also needs to see the same problem in social justice terms from the point of view of someone who rejects the 'two state' solution and only really believes in a 'one state' solution, or of someone who does not reject the 'two state' solution but who despite this does not believe that it will happen.

This perhaps needs to be contextualised against the background of what Hamas have recently had to say about the future of women in the region. It is important to

remember that Nussbaum sees religion in certain social and political contexts playing a negative role in the oppression and subjugation of women. This is an area that both young IB males and females can explore against the background of Hamas as a religious organisation with anti-Semitic and terrorist and sectarian content in a number of its manifestos. The students might find Hamas has views on women which are totally incompatible with the views held by Israeli secularists but on the other hand they might find that their views are more compatible with those of the deeply religious orthodox Jewish Israelis (Nussbaum 1997, 2000) (Sen 1981, 1991, 2002).

(5) The Multilateral and Neoconservative Approaches

The USA has often been accused of going it alone and unconditionally siding with the Israelis rather than the Palestinians. Some critics of the Oslo Accord of 1993 are in agreement on this. In the interests of comprehensive and profound facilitation it is important that the students familiarise themselves with characterisations of Israel and the USA as Rogue States (Chomsky 2000a). On the other hand it is equally important for the students to recognise that not just the international community but also the USA favour a two state solution for Israel / Palestine. Of course to do justice to the main principles of facilitation philosophy it will be important that the students explore the 'multiple narratives' of dissident members of the international community. Comments by the present leader of Iran President Adhmadinejad to the effect that 'Israel should be destroyed and wiped off the map' should also be explored as should the 'narratives' of those other states hostile to Israel. The role of Hizbollah in Lebanon and their perceived military, logistical and military support from both Syria and Iran merit attention especially because of the Israeli retaliation in July 2006.

Good facilitation would encourage the students to explore the neoconservative view which might or might not be not too different from the USA Democrat or Republican views on Israel's right to exist as a Jewish state. Perhaps what might become a central plank in this debate is that the western leadership of the international community have a different vision of the future for Palestinian / Israeli relationships. At the heart of this debate will be the fact that many from Arab countries or the Muslim world believe like Hamas that Israel should surrender or be destroyed. On the other hand what might also be debated is the possibility that Hamas will become like the IRA /

Sinn Fein and claim to have a military wing and a political wing. Facilitation philosophy should consider all the options or alternatives which might be in the pipeline of 'multiple narratives'. The content of these 'multiple narratives' will certainly lend a cutting edge to ideological debates on the future of Israel / Palestine (Chomsky 2000a) (Ignatieff 2005a, 2005b) (Kagan 2003).

(6) Critical Thinking

In the interests of critical thinking, the use of the above approaches will ensure that students will remain at the cutting edge of a comprehensive overview of what is one of the world's most complex International Affairs scenarios. The approach above requires a certain measure of philosophical expertise so it is unlikely that a good facilitator will allow the students to set about the tasks before they have comprehensive and thorough understandings of the different 'narratives' and philosophical understandings and how they impact on the critical thinking that takes place in the facilitation process (Bowkett 2006) (Klooster 2001) (Newton 2006) (Norris 1999).

What is important for the students to realise throughout all the International Affairs scenarios in this project is that they will have extensive experience in deepening their understandings of both philosophy and international relations. The project tasks and requirements insist that the students become philosophically and International Affairs literate in a way that they would not if they were not doing these projects.

Facilitation pedagogy can and in this instance should be 'a student centred' pedagogy

From a management point of view I have always felt that teacher control or leadership dominated previous conferences which I have been associated with more than needed to have been the case. Sometimes it does take experience and the benefit of hindsight to move on to a more profoundly facilitated and a more student centred pedagogy. The future conference presented in this appendix is entirely run and managed by the IB students who might wish to use their conference as a vehicle for promoting peace and international understanding. Because the conference is student initiated,

maintained, designed, reconfigured, controlled, evaluated and focused it does not mean that the teacher facilitated ideas at the heart of this Appendix cannot underpin and aid many of the concerns which are at the core of the Conference. The Conference is entirely CAS connected and rewarded in that the students in the College will be responsible for the following:

(1) Drawing up a programme of topics on the Middle East which might be inclusive of all its 'narratives' or at least its most important and relevant 'narratives'. This will obviously include the 'narratives' of all the leading players such as all the leading Israeli parties such as Likud and Labour, the coma-stricken Ariel Sharon's new Kadima party and needless to say those Palestinian parties which support Mahmoud Abbas, his Fatah party and all those who support Islamic Jihad and Hamas. The 'narratives' of Palestinians in the Diaspora of Palestinians living in other countries in the Middle East and elsewhere also merit attention. As the focus will be on 'Peace and Reconciliation in the Middle East' it will be important that the narratives of peace that have been emerging from the peace movements within Israel / Palestine and the main international players like the USA and the European Union, other Arab States and other members of the United Nations emerge. What of course is extremely important at the time of writing is that the flux and change of Israeli / Palestinian politics are allowed to influence any reconfigurations in the facilitation of the programme. This kind of flexibility on behalf of the main players is imperative in a complex and dynamic situation which requires patience and tolerance. Mandela and De Klerk for example had to display that kind of flexibility in understanding each others' fears, demands, needs and requirements. This was necessary if both leaders were to take their constituencies with them in the build up to Mandela's release in 1990 and the first open and free elections in 1994. On the other hand there are some who would say that there can be no comparison between the two scenarios because Israel just has to get out of the West Bank if it is to satisfy the international community. Others in the Arab and the Muslim worlds might say that for justice to be done, Palestinian rights and land and citizenship have to be restored to the Palestinian people (Abu-Nimer 1999) (Wasserstein 2004).

(2) Student control and management does not mean that the students do not work without any sense of consultancy. Facilitation philosophy is after all embedded in the

idea that one should ask questions and exploit the knowledge, understandings and interpretations of all those around one. Perhaps this point highlights the importance of the logical and necessary link between the existential, the 'narrative' of a particular individual, the 'multiple narratives' of many individuals and democracy. Genuine democracy which is 'existentialised' democracy implies a kind of interpretative wisdom that can emerge from the kind of multi-vocal sharing which is rooted in existential concerns.

While the students accept full responsibility for the design of the intellectual content of the programme and the cultural events, good facilitation will ensure that a good number of students, managers, administrative personnel and teachers from the wide range of multi-disciplinary experts will remain in the background as consultants on the following:

(A) The selection of a variety of expert guest speakers on the Middle East. In a previous conference I held on the Middle East a few years ago, pro-Palestinian sympathies resulted in the invitation panel not inviting accomplished speakers from the Israeli Embassy. This I believed was a mistake then and I still believe that on the basis of pro-Israeli sympathies it would be a mistake to exclude members or at least representatives of Hamas and Islamic Jihad. This is not necessarily to say that Hamas would not be challenged to renounce terrorism but on the other hand the military nature of Israel's Occupation does not give rise to serious concerns as well. Facilitators need to keep an open mind on issues and not inviting people who are integral to the solution will reflect moral, philosophical and political limitations that a conference of this sort can do without. Perhaps the IB student facilitators might find some illumination in Mandela's insight and that was that the ANC refused to renounce violence while the Apartheid state oppressed the majority of South Africans through military and other means. Many members of Hamas have said that there cannot be open and free elections in the West Bank while Israel is an occupying force which is free to work against the interests of Hamas. At the time of writing this in January 2006 Hamas has just won 76 of the 132 seats in the Palestinian Authority. This of course raises all sorts of concerns for the conference facilitators which can be the substance of a very interesting debate.

(B) Helping the students to prepare all the participants in the Conference for the three day event which will include the expertise of literary, arts and crafts, music, film, theatre, economic, geography, history, politics, ecosystems and other leaders. In curricular terms there are many more subject specific, TOK (Theory of Knowledge) and PSHE connections which the student facilitators can explore with their teachers and peers who will be participating in the conference in a meaningful way.

This preparation needless to say will require that all the students read cutting edge materials which will help them understand the relevant and up-to-date narratives. Further it is important that this reading list of written texts, websites and other multi-disciplinary resources will ensure that the understandings of the conflict be positioned against the more optimistic scenario of peaceful initiatives today and peace for the future. It is important that consultant teachers and the facilitator students do not lose sight of the main focus of the programme. Recent news in the month of January 2006 for example was that Hamas were going back to the drawing board so that they can get rid of their terrorist image. Later journalistic evidence revealed this not to be the case. The conference needs to strike a balance between optimism and realism. Irrespective of how Hamas reconfigure their future in the region, they too will also have to deal with the fatigue of war and the desire for jobs, security, peace and possibly even compromise in the region. Funding from organisations like the EU will certainly be under review if Hamas continue with their suicide bomber and anti-Semitic 'destruction of Israel' policies. Jews and Israeli supporters in Europe and other parts of the world will want to emphasise that in the past six years Hamas have killed 427 Israelis in 58 suicide bombings. On the other hand, Palestinians and their supporters will see the same facts in a different light. A more multilateral approach will insist that the misery of the Occupation should be argued and developed with some kind of moral conviction. These issues are of course all interesting but also painful challenges to the participants of the Conference.

Against this background the student facilitators can encourage their audience to think about the desire and hunger for peace of all the people of this region. This will include not only the Israelis and the Palestinians but all the citizens or stateless individuals of the neighbouring Arab States. The facilitators can be encouraged by their consultant teachers to enable their students to look on the positive side of things by focusing not

so much on the recriminations, hatred and revenge of the past but on Ariel Sharon's withdrawal of all the Israeli settlers from Gaza. Suspicious Palestinians, some of the facilitators might add, might say that this one-sided withdrawal was just an Israeli ploy to hang on indefinitely to portions of the West Bank which are densely populated by Israeli settlers. Other facilitators might be more optimistic and say that this is still territory for the participants of the conference to negotiate about. Further, they might add that it is better for both sides to enter negotiations in a spirit of optimism because the people of the region are tired of war and are thirsting for justice which might be partly met in negotiated formulations for a Palestinian State (Darke and Rustin 1999) (Halabi 2000).

In International Affairs analyses the facilitators cannot ignore the 'narratives' of revenge and hatred but to dwell on them endlessly would not be in the interests of any peace process. If these negative 'narratives' can serve a positive purpose, they can be reminders of how negative and futile hatred and revenge can be and they can also inspire the participants in a struggle to move as urgently as possible towards peace.

(C) The philosophical use of the existential, the phenomenological, human rights, global citizenship, 'multilateralism' and 'neo-conservatism' can help the students negotiate their way through and past the obstacles to a more peaceful emphasis in their learning and their academic assignments on the Middle East. Perhaps what needs to be registered in this context is that curricular authorities in England and Wales have recently decided that there needs to be less emphasis on the Second World War in History teaching. The rationale here is that there should perhaps be greater emphasis on the international and multilateral peace keeping achievements of international statesmen. Similarly the consultants and the facilitators perhaps need to focus on how much that is negative about the many narratives of the past can be kept out of the conference and all the learning, teaching and facilitating building up to it. Obviously, if there are 'narratives' which are negative but are highly relevant to a peace process, they need to be included. However, the main focus of the Conference which is intended to be positive and optimistic should be on the more constructive, creative and mutually affirming territory. Further to this point, the facilitators would be encouraged not to make the future of East Jerusalem or the right of the Palestinians to return to Israel and reclaim their land the centre pieces of the Conference. There is no

reason why facilitation pedagogy which is administered by students cannot be a practical and pragmatic pedagogy which focuses on attainable rather than unattainable goals. These issues will obviously merit consideration but they should not be allowed to become obstacles which could stall talks in all other feasible areas of cooperation (Darke & Rustin 1999a) (Halabi 2004) (Shlaim 1995, 2000). A facilitator with a sense of anticipation will recognise that there might be some in the audience who will believe that a conference of this nature and content cannot be regarded as credible if these highly contested issues are not discussed. The teacher consultant needs to put these considerations to her students at the very early stages of the organising of the conference. They need to devise a plan even if it contradicts the advice of their teacher.

(D) What the consultants, facilitators, teachers and learners in this international and multi-lateral conference might wish to focus on is the positive peace-making role that all the players in the conflict can play. This of course has immense implications for the way that the facilitators and students look at the curriculum content which will be delivered throughout the months preceding the conference. Perhaps the following academic assignments might present a more positive approach than has been argued in the past. Different groups of students can be encouraged to research and write assignments on the following topics:

- (1) Summarise and discuss how you think a 'new' and reinvented Hamas might be able to do business with Israel. Further, also deal briefly with the possibility that this statement reflects wishful thinking.
- (2) Summarise and interpret how you think greater unity among the Palestinians might lead to more profound peace talks between the Israelis and the Palestinians.
- (3) Discuss how you think the Palestinians and the Israelis will benefit if a more pragmatic approach to the conflict were employed. Take care to ensure that you focus on what both the Israeli and the Palestinian leadership might do in the near future.
- (4) While a two state solution might not be ideal for many Israelis and Palestinians critically discuss how much better it could or will be than the present situation in the Middle East.

(5) Critically discuss how it is not realistic to imagine a Unitary State Solution for the Israelis and the Arabs until the Arabs and the Israelis have been living in relative harmony alongside each other in a two state solution for some time (Darke & Rustin 1999) (Halabi 2004) (Said 2000, 2003) (Shlaim 1995, 2000).

(E) Students who are facilitating this conference of course have to be intimately aware of the time-tabling arrangements of the academic year of their College in Oxford but they will also have to bear in mind the following:

- (1) They will need to think of the budgetary and fund-raising needs of the project.
- (2) They have to select student participants from their own school who are reliable but they will also have to ensure they have the relevant expertise to deal with the facilitation skills and academic challenges and changes that face them on the day.
- (3) That the timetables and concerns of the local schools who might wish to be involved need to be considered. The facilitators need to approach the management of the neighbouring schools for the use of their facilities which in certain respects could be better equipped.
- (4) Further to the above point, it is important that the facilitators see the idea of involving local schools as highly compatible with the mission of International Baccalaureate Colleges who like to see themselves as thinking internationally but acting locally. It is important however that the IB student facilitators do not communicate a patronizing attitude to the local schools with which they are sharing collaborative interests on peace in the Middle East. To ensure that this does not happen, it will be important that student leaders or facilitators from local schools be invited to play a meaningful role in the process (Darke & Rustin 1999).

If students realise that the conference will be CAS connected there is a strong possibility that their commitment will be greater. Students studying on a programme which is highly congested with assignments and deadlines will definitely be more motivated if they believe that their contribution will be rewarded with a substantial number of CAS hours for either Creativity, Action or Service. More important however will be the fact that the conference will be populated by displays, musical, theatrical and artistic contributions which will reflect Israeli and Palestinian achievements. The UK is a multicultural society and international schools are particularly multi-cultural so it would not be too difficult to invite an appropriate

number of Palestinians and Israelis to take part in the conference at every level of CAS. The facilitators can select a special multi-cultural committee which can ensure that poetry writing, sport, dance, games, music and fund raising for peace projects in the Middle East can be integrated to the benefit of all students involved. A conference which is linked to the multicultural achievements of both these great cultures can be affirming and respectful in the best sense of the word. This premise of respect can lead to all sorts of interesting accommodations and sharing which might surprise the most pessimistic of people (Henry 1996).

A conference which includes 'role play' and conflict resolution exercises

In international colleges and sixth-form colleges and university institutions in a city like Oxford one can come across a sizeable percentage of students who might be anti-Bush and anti-Blair and anti-Israel. This is a challenge facing facilitators which need not necessarily get in the way of a fair hearing for all parties. For a conference which hopes to set the right tone for a 'Peace Process in the Middle East' it is important that one does not allow an atmosphere of boorish militancy to emerge. Besides the rudeness that this kind of culture can create it can be entirely self-defeating in a conference which is aiming at coming to terms with what needs to be done to facilitate the considerations of a peace process. IB student facilitators can consider some of the following before they set about designing the time tabled event over the period of the three day conference.

(1) Cross cultural communication in seminars, discussions and short talks can be set up in such a way which is empathetic towards all the participants. Sometimes role-play exercises can be enormously helpful in this regard. I have personal experience of this kind of activity in the context of resistance groups working within the context of non-denominational church circles in South Africa. In the context of the Middle East it can involve students putting themselves in the shoes of and in a sense supporting the reasoned arguments of those who they would normally disagree with in the real world which is also the world of their opponents. For a Jewish Israeli female student to speak and argue the views of a Palestinian mother who has just lost her children in an Israeli Defence Force raid in the West Bank requires as much empathy and skill as might be the case if a Palestinian lady student role plays the reflections of a Israeli

Jewish mother who has lost her daughter and many friends at a suicide bombing at a wedding reception. There is a sense in which the existential phenomenological foci of the thesis can be highly compatible with role play because through skilful and empathetic role play students have to work out what it must be like to be someone who disagrees with one or someone who one sees as a sworn enemy (Van Ments 1989, 1990). Students who are doing theatre arts or drama or dance might be able to use their skills here and there is always the possibility that political theatre could emerge in a cross-college play production which might become independent of the conference. This could lead to a number of nights of performances which could serve as fundraising for education or social concerns in the Middle East.

(2) An attitude of optimism is important in a peace process because it helps in this context for opponents to see each other as prospective allies and friends. History is full of personal and political transformations. At the time of writing this section in January 2006 many are nervous about Hamas's electoral victory but optimism can also be realistic in that their leadership might realise that life as rulers of the Palestinian Authority could become very difficult without the support of the international community. On the other hand, if others hostile to Western and Israeli interests such as Iran were to fund Hamas and their Palestinian Authority increasing polarisation could create greater problems in the region. How the leaders of Hamas might reflect on all these speculations should also be important in the debate. The facilitating and exploring students might want to know how Mr Olmert and his Kadima party will plan the next four years of withdrawals from the West Bank. They might want to explore the idea that he will probably continue with Mr Sharon's unilateral approach of piecemeal withdrawals without consultation with the Palestinians because, some might say, that was what he was elected to do.

(3) The global citizenship, human rights and capabilities approaches referred to in the thesis can provide all sorts of intellectually challenging frameworks for the participant facilitators who will certainly have their leadership tested in these areas. Hopefully what might emerge from these frameworks is a range of contributions whose emphasis is more focused on peace, justice and compromise rather than entrenched positions.

(4) The facilitators need to be armed to deliver well designed workshops on Israeli / Palestinian perceptions of human rights as they might be attained in two separate scenarios. These scenarios might be on the one hand, a two state solution, and on the other this might include a Single State solution.

(5) Well in advance of the conference the facilitators need to understand that for many religious Israelis giving the Palestinians a state alongside Israel means giving up on the dream of a 'Greater Israel' which would include the occupation of the West Bank. Further, it is important that they understand that the 'two state' solution which the Israelis might be prepared to discuss at the moment would require cross party talks on shared control of the water supply in the West Bank. Facilitators would need to know that no Israeli leadership is going to allow themselves to end up in a situation where their water supply is going to be controlled and possibly cut off by hostile Palestinians who do not really want a two state solution because what they really want is a single state solution (Said 2000) (Shlaim 1995, 2000) (Wasserstein 2004).

(6) Good facilitation of a topic as complex as the Middle East requires that the leadership is up to date and knowledgeable about options and alternatives. For example, many Israelis when they explore the possibility of a two state solution in their own minds look not to the 1947 UN rulings on the 'two state' solution, rather they look to what they regard as 'the new situation'. Facilitators cannot be in the dark about this fact because if they are, the whole framework for more comprehensive discussions led by intellectually agile seminar leaders might be lost. Good facilitation must mean that all the issues and concerns of both sides need to be discussed. Certain Israeli counter-arguments against the 1947 UN rulings on Israel / Palestine borders include the following:

(A) The Palestinians rejected these boundaries when they were first put on the table in 1947.

(B) Israel now occupies and polices large areas of the West Bank and has done so since 1967. The Palestinians and their Arab neighbours including Egypt, Jordan and Syria wanted to destroy Israel so the pre-emptive strike against them which resulted in the Occupation was acceptable because every state has a right to defend itself. The continuing Occupation since 1967 has persisted because Israel still believes that a

sizeable percentage of Palestinians still want to destroy Israel and that many of the surrounding Arab States and the Muslim and Persian State Iran would like to, in the words of their leader President Adhminejad, 'wipe Israel off the face of the earth'.

Facilitation is about fairness, respect, good management and the meeting of deadlines

Facilitators really have to be good editors and need to understand that a conference needs to have some of the following ingredients:

- (1) Both the Palestinian and the Israeli narratives have to be fairly represented and this means that it does not serve the interests of facilitation if only one side has charismatic and compelling guest speakers.
- (2) It also does not serve the interests of facilitation if the chair person is weak and the audience is unrepresentative of the interests of either of the two sides.
- (3) The aim of the conference might well be 'Peace and Justice in the Middle East' but the conference needs to be conducted in the spirit of peace and justice. This of course means the conference cannot really accommodate an atmosphere of militancy, put-downs, one-upmanship and brinkmanship.
- (4) The facilitators should call for papers in advance so as to ensure some kind of quality control over both student and other academic contributions is maintained. These would no doubt be connected to the length of the speeches, times for questions and discussions, scope for interruptions and other digressions from the original plans.
- (5) If this CAS connected project can also be connected to the IB academic programme there is no reason why it cannot also be connected to Extended Essay writing in subjects like Human Rights, Peace and Conflict Studies, Political Theory and other subjects on the IB.
- (6) If the student facilitators are getting students to plan and develop their essays, speeches, short talks and other contributions for months in advance of the conference

they are really doing the students and the Palestinian / Israeli cause greater justice. This can be asserted categorically because there is nothing that can let down a side more than an ill prepared and ignorant participant.

Facilitation and skills for conflict resolution

While the conference in the interests of Peace and Reconciliation needs to be managed and administered and delivered in a spirit of courtesy it is also important that specialist workshops involving students who can be Israelis or Palestinians do not avoid the responsibility of dealing with difficult issues. The facilitators might invite adult academic experts to play a leadership role in these conflict resolution scenarios but more in keeping with the aims of this conference they will do better to get well prepared student leaders to become involved. Role play can be a very important strategy and technique and can often defuse what can become overheated contexts. Sometimes getting students to play the role of the side they do not support can be educationally profound and illuminating. Recently I employed such an approach in a debate on the 'two state' / 'one state' solution and in so doing I found *The Workshop from the School for Peace: Neve Shalom-Wahat Al Salam: Sessions of York* inspirational and useful (Darke, Rustin & Halabi 2004). The students did their homework very well and they were remarkably objective, empathetic, sincere and respectful in their articulations. The general consensus was that role play was very beneficial educationally, as indicated in these two evaluations:

(1) Role Play asks you all sorts of questions about how difficult those who support the 'single state' solution find it to accept the 'two state' solution. Exploring this scenario helped me understand more deeply how much the Palestinians lost through the establishment of the State of Israel. It exposed me to the sadness, the loss of their homes and land and their lives as stateless asylum seekers in refugee camps. I can now know why so many Palestinians hate Israel and want it destroyed.

(2) This research into the Jewish Israeli understanding of issues opened my eyes to their sense of the Holocaust and how this is so profoundly connected to the Jewish sense of Israeli identity. It also made me realise that Israel had the support of great powers like the European Union, the USA, Russia and China and how in a way the

international community had sided with Israel. Since 1967 particularly I realised that the USA's commitment to Israel was profoundly connected to its regional and global policies and it also made me realise that no USA President would ever win a USA election unless he/she supported the state of Israel.

Finalising the conference details

Finalising what will be on the conference programme, the young organisers and facilitators will realise, is connected to the following:

- (1) How good the papers submitted are and whether the intended contributors have met the required standards or deadlines or not.
- (2) Ensuring that there are alternative arrangements for last minute cancellations by guest speakers. In some ways an accomplished public speaker who is also an informed staff member or a student who will not be fazed by being a last minute replacement ought to be an ideal candidate. There of course need to be alternatives for all the key slots just in case there are other disappointments.

Critical thinking and the evaluation of the conference

There is a sense in which this conference can serve as an embodiment of much of the philosophy and aims of the International Baccalaureate curriculum. What hopefully the IB facilitators and students might understand is the comprehensive link that the conference could have with the following:

- (1) The promotion of student autonomy in the learning process
- (2) The integration between the academic, TOK (Theory of Knowledge), CAS (Creativity, Action and Service) and PSHE programmes
- (3) The multi-disciplinary contributions that the International Baccalaureate curriculum might bring to such a process. Political Theory, Eco-Systems, History, Economics, Business, Geography, Literature, Theatre Studies, Human Rights, Peace and Conflict Studies and many other subjects can offer insights into what needs to be done for a peace process in the Middle East (Moran 2006).
- (4) The teaching and learning outcomes of this project might not be connected to subject specific performance in examinations but from Extended Essay, CAS, TOK, PSHE and international perspectives the achievements might be considerable.

It is important that the conference is evaluated in a holistic way and that the student facilitators, the student participants, the guest participants and the rest of the student body and possibly the teaching staff are given an opportunity to comment and offer critical understandings of the three day event. Rather than too many questions which require yes / no responses it is important that in keeping with the 'multiple narratives' dimension of this thesis the evaluation / assessment of the thesis gives the students an opportunity to comment *at length* on what they enjoyed or did not enjoy about the conference. Talking to the students rather than *getting them to fill in* questionnaires can in some instances be more productive and informative.

In order that critical thinking might underpin and be threaded through the conference at every level there is no reason why a detailed evaluation process can not be applied to the existential-phenomenological approach. This might mean that the student facilitators across the colleges that are involved draw up a questionnaire or interviews or discussion groups which are broadly connected to the following:

(A) The Existential

Did the conference involve you in discussions, readings, performances and other understandings which benefited you personally? Could you provide examples? How do you think the conference might have involved you and others more comprehensively?

(B) The Phenomenological

Was there evidence in the conference programme that the facilitators made an effort to create a hearing for the multiple voices of the lived experiences of all the individuals or citizens who might be affected by what has happened and what is happening in the Middle East? Give examples of particular seminars, films, cultural sharing sessions, group discussions, lectures, cultural representations or informal dialogues which reflect these realities. Also make suggestions as to how the conference might have given its participants a greater understanding of the 'multiple narratives' of these scenarios (Denton 1974) (Kneller 1964) (Morris 1966) (Vandenberg 1971, 1997).

(C) Human Rights, Global Citizenship and the Capabilities Approach

Was there evidence that there were clear moral foci on how different interpretations of human rights might impact on the problem solving, the conflict resolution and other efforts towards achieving peace in the region? If this was deficient or too one-sided or not comprehensive enough could you please make suggestions as to how the facilitation might have been more even handed or fairer? Were the tenets of international law and the numerous UN resolutions spelt out clearly enough or often enough to give the participants a clear idea as to the direction the peace process might have to move? Alternatively, were there enough understandings which reflected that international law and the many UN Resolutions as they affected Israel / Palestine might be flawed or might have to be amended or might in fact be obstacles to a peace process? Further, through an emphasis on Nussbaum's capabilities approach, did the conference give the participants an understanding of how a lack of citizenship and a lack of democracy and perhaps the malign influence of certain religious practices can affect the lives of the poor and underprivileged so negatively (Osler 2000) (Osler & Starkey 2005b) (Osler & Vincent 2002)?

Bibliographical Summaries

As indicated in the last paragraph of the introduction, there follow below a number of specialised listings of the sources of and influences on my general approach to a number of topics. Some works will appear in more than one listing.

(I) The following references have been very useful in my explorations of existential philosophy: Adorno (1973), Barrett (1967), Blackham (1961, 1976), Bonnett & Cuypers (2003), Buber (1947), Cooper (1990), Denton (1974), Flynn (1984), Frankl (1967, 1992), Greene (1973, 1988), Hall (2004), Heidegger (1962), Jaspers (1971), Kneller (1964), Levy (2002), Marcel (1950, 1951), Morris (1966), Murdoch (1999), Myerson (2002), Palmer (1995), Pinar (1998), Poster (1975), Priest (2001), Rogers (1983, 1989), Sartre (1948, 1958, 1960, 1974, 1992, 1995, 2001a, 2001b), Versfeld (1972, 1979), Wallraff (1970), Warnock (1965, 1970, 1971)

(II) In the pursuit of my understanding of phenomenology I have found the following invaluable: Berger & Luckmann (1966), Gadamer (1977, 1998, 2001), Denton (1974), Dostal (2002), Hammond, Howarth & Keat (1991), Heidegger (1962), Husserl (1964), Langeveld (1959), Luijpen (1974), Ricoeur (1967), Rogers (1983), Sartre (1948, 1958, 1960, 1974, 1992, 1995, 2001a, 2001b), Spiegelberg (1960), Spurling (1977), Straus (1963), Thevenaz (1962) Vandenberg (1971, 1997), Welton & Silverman (1987), Wolin (1993, 1998)

(III) The following references have been very useful in my development of the 'narrative' and 'multiple narratives' approach: Baggini & Fosl (2003), Blackham (1976), Bowkett (2006), Dryden & Vos (2001), Goodin (2003), Hall (2004), Klooster (2001), Mc Peck (1981), Rescher (2001), Siegel (1988, 1997a, 1997b), Van Den Brink-Budgen (2005)

(IV) I have found much that is useful for the development of my arguments relating to Human Rights and the UDHR in the following literature: Anderson-Gold (2001), Audi (1989), Benhabib (2004), Brownlie & Goodwin-Gill (2002), Dwyer (1991), De Feyter (2005), Finnis (1993), Forsythe (2000), Freeman (1988), Gaita (1998), Holt

(1997), Maritain (2001), Miller (2000), Savic (1999), Sellars (2002), Sen (1999, 2002), United Nations (1948), United Nations Development Programme (2002), Woodiwiss (2005).

(V) I have managed to draw on a wide variety of resources which have helped me develop the ideas on global citizenship which follow. These include: Alton (2001), Annan (2000), Arthur & Wright (2003), Bailey (2000), Bauman (1993), Clark (1999), Colas (2002), Cooper (2004), De Greef & Cronin (2002), Dower (2002, 2003), Francis (2002), Gaita (1998), Gardels (1997), Gearon (2003), George & Wilding (2002), Gibney (2003), Giddens & Hutton (2001), Glasius, Kaldor & Anheier (2002), Goldsmith & Mander (2001), Goldstone (2000), Goodin (2003), Govier (2002), Hanvey (1976), Havel (1985), Held (1995, 2002), Held & McGrew (2004), Houghton (1997), Huntingdon (1996), Johnson (1997), Johnson (2000), Kagan (2003), Keane (2003), Kung (1991, 1996, 1998), Kymlicka & Norman (2000), Lawton, Cairns & Gardner (2000), Legrain (2002), Martin & Schumann (1996), Mayo (2005), Shea (2000), Stiglitz (2002)

(VI) The following references have been very useful in my explorations of Facilitation Pedagogy: Bohm (1996), Bowkett (2006), Burbules & Hansen (1997), Cameron (2001), Denton (1974), Dewey ([1916] 2002), Dryden & Vos (2001), Freire (1996, 1998, 2004), Fromm (1994), Greene (1973, 1988), Halabi (2000), Heron (1993, 1999), Hunter (1996), Kneller (1964), Lewis (1943), Morris (1966), Nolasco (1987), Osler (2000), Osler & Vincent (2002), Osler & Starkey (2005b), Pike & Selby (1988), Pinar (1998), Prokosch & Raymond (2002), Richardson (1996), Rogers (1983, 1989), Tomalin (1993), Townsend (1999), Van Loo & Morley (2004), Van Ments (1989, 1990)

(VII) The following references have been very useful in my development of the philosophical approach proposed here: Amstutz (2005), Baderin (2003), Berger & Luckmann (1966), Bonnet & Cuypers (2003), Brownlie & Goodwin-Gill (2002), Burbules & Hansen (1997), Callinicos (2003), Chua (2004), Chomsky (1998, 1999a, 1999b, 1999c, 2000a, 2000b, 2001), Cooper (2004), Copeland (2005), Davis (1995), Donnelly (2002), Elliott (2005), Forsythe (2000), Frost (1998), (Giliomee 2003), Hauss (2004), Ignatieff (2003, 2005a, 2005b), Meredith (1988, 1997, 1999), Nash

(2004), Said (2000), Said & Barsamian (2003), Kagan (2003), Sampson (2000),
Welsh (1990)

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